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ABSTRACT

Children whose parents are occupationally mobile must accommodate to a wide variety of school experiences. This extensive study seeks to explore the educational careers of military dependents from their own point of view, compare them with local pupils, and supplement those comparisons with views of teachers and principals. The approach of the study is sociocultural, and uses unstructured interviews and participant observations in addition to information in the school record. Subjects were sixth-grade military dependents. Discussed are the following: academic achievement as it pertains to sociology and education; self concept and sociometric status; the phenomenology of the "stranger" in the schools; and the view of the schools as seen by the pupils. As a result of this study, several recommendations are offered for changes within the school which would help create a better academic and social environment for all pupils: changes in staff responsibility to enable the teacher to "teach"; changes in materials and teacher training to ensure respectful treatment of minorities and cultural sub-groups; and more adequate counseling services to alleviate the fears of the mobile pupil. (CJ)

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A SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDY

BUD B. KHLEIF, PH.D.

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Contract #OE-5-10-044

THE SCHOOLING CAREERS OF MILITARY DEPENDENTS:
A SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDY

by

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FOREWORD

Migrancy has long been a concern of the American educator. The term generally calls up the image of the child following the itinerate share-cropper or farm worker from state to state, season to season. Their numbers are large.

Even greater, however, is the number of girls and boys who with mobile parents register each year in the nation's schools with an expectation of relatively short enrollments. Recognition of their special needs tends to be as neglected as that of the farmer group.

To look at the schooling careers of one mobile group -- children with parents relating to the military -- has been the purpose of this study on which my former colleague Dr. Bud B. Khleif reports. Initiated at Harvard during his affiliation with the Harvard Graduate School of Education, the study involved the participation of nearby school districts having military installations. Relating the military dependent group of girls and boys during their sixth grade experiences with local pupils of relatively permanent residence has been the focus of the research.

Completed during his present assignment as Associate Professor of Sociology and Education at the University of New Hampshire, the study is certain to command the attention of all who relate to it -- the parents of the military dependents, their teachers, the administrative personnel, members of boards of education and interested citizens of the community. Hopefully such interest will be expressed in meeting the needs the research reveals.

Certain to make a distinguished contribution to the ever-increasing number of significant sociological studies, the researcher, Dr. Khleif, is deserving of warm commendation and praise. This, on behalf of all of those associated with him in this significant endeavor, I am happy to convey. With it there is expressed the hope that this study will prove but the beginning in the necessary and careful further analysis of the larger educational aspect of educational migrancy.

Herold C. Hunt
Charles William Eliot
Professor of Education
Harvard University

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project represents a cooperative effort; many people and agencies have made it possible. To them, I am grateful.

My thanks are due to the U. S. Office of Education for providing the necessary funds; to the Harvard Graduate School of Education for providing the sponsorship. Without the active involvement of many superintendents, principals, and teachers, this project could neither have been initiated nor completed. I would have liked very much to have been able to acknowledge my indebtedness to them by name; unfortunately, prior agreement between us prevents identification of any person or school. Without the participation of sixth-grade pupils, both military dependents and local, our study of geographic mobility would not have been meaningful. We learned a lot from the perceptiveness and insights of pupils, the natives of the situation, and we shall always wish them well, be they travelling or stationary.

This project has had the good fortune of benefiting from the expertise of Herold C. Hunt, Charles William Eliot Professor of Education at Harvard University. Professor Hunt has had an outstanding and rich career; he is the former Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and has served as General Superintendent of Schools in Chicago, Illinois; Kansas City, Missouri; and New Rochelle, New York. Professor Hunt has first-hand knowledge of school districts nationally as well as in the New England region. His wisdom, knowledge, and insights have been invaluable to this project. I am also grateful to him for his encouragement, counsel, and gracious help.

Other persons have been of great assistance. In particular, I wish to thank Dean Theodore R. Sizer, Harvard Graduate School of Education, for his active support and interest; Dr. Erik R. Anderson, Chief, P. L. 874 Programs, USOE, Boston; Dr. Donald C. DeHart, Regional Representative, USOE, Boston; and Dr. Raymond S. Dower, Chief, Division of Research and Statistics, Massachusetts Department of Education, Boston, for their courtesy and helpfulness, and for providing us with regional data on school enrollments. In addition, the tireless efforts, wit, and personal touch of the late Vincent F. Conroy, Director of the Center for Field Studies, Harvard Graduate School of Education, in facilitating contacts with a variety of New England school districts helped get this project under way.

In the course of the project, several staff members were engaged in data collection: Ann Chase, Leonard Gottlieb, Annette Holman, Helen Rougon, Ralph Sloan, and others. Lillian Acayan and Loyde Hales were helpful in statistical analysis; Diane Joyce, in analysis of non-statistical data. In computer techniques, Dr. Larry L. Havlicek, a colleague, was of immeasurable assistance. In the early stages of the project, Professors Everett C. Hughes, Howard S. Becker, Blanche Geer, and Jules Henry offered valuable suggestions on various aspects of the study. To all persons who, at one time or another, contributed to this research, I am grateful. As director of the project and author of this report, I am solely responsible for its shortcomings.

With accuracy and skill, Mrs. Florence Wilkins typed the initial research application; Helen Bowditch, Sally Loth, and Nancy Felder, the interviews, field notes, and various drafts of this report. Their contribution deserves particular credit. With energy, perseverance, and skill, and amid disruptions to her household routines, Mrs. Laurice Fogg typed the final draft. I am appreciative of her generous help.

My lovely wife, Noelle, knows with me the joys and tribulations of getting the manuscript finished. I am indebted to her for her warmheartedness and good cheer.

Bud B. Khleif

Washington's Birthday, 1970
Durham, New Hampshire

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND SAMPLES

Children whose parents are in occupations that entail a good deal of physical mobility -- such as children of migratory farm workers, employees of large industrial concerns, and military personnel -- are faced with the task of accommodating themselves to a wide variety of schools. Quite often, these children pass through two or three school systems before they complete the elementary phase of their schooling. Since they move in considerable numbers, they are found in some school districts as a distinct population; in their schooling careers, they tend to be permanent members of a continuously transient pupil group. These children share a pattern of experience that distinguishes them from local pupils: their educational experience lacks continuity in, and commitment to, a single institution; it is marked by an enlarged stock of encounters, by removal from old associations, and by adaptation to a wider variety of adults and peers.

This study is concerned with the academic achievement and school behavior of one kind of highly mobile children -- military dependents. We would like to compare these children with local pupils, looking at differences within each group, and examining situations where military dependents constitute the entire grade enrollment, a majority, or a minority.

In contrast with children in earlier grades, sixth-grade children tend to be more oriented to peers than to parents, are more aware of interpersonal relations, and more articulate in verbalizing their experiences. On the other hand, in contrast with later grades, 6th grade children tend to have only one teacher and one classroom group. It is because of these considerations that we would like to concentrate on the sixth grade.

In general, the questions we are asking are the following: How do military dependents and local pupils view their schooling experience? What are their attitudes toward their school work, classmates, teachers, and principal? What are their friendship patterns? To what extent is the classroom a primary group for them? What are the avenues to prestige and success in the society of children at this grade-level? How does the military dependent, the newcomer, respond to the local school culture? What are his modes of participation, his satisfactions, and dissatisfactions? Are there any stages, any points of transition, in his response to his schooling situation? Are there any differences between boys and girls at this grade-level in the way they have dealt with peer and adult expectations? How do teachers and other school personnel characterize the achievement and behavior of military dependents and local pupils? In short, we would like to explain the educational careers of military dependents from their own point of view, compare them with local pupils, and supplement our comparison with views of teachers and principals.

We would like to apply some concepts and notions, mainly from sociology and social anthropology, to the study of an educational problem. We hope to come out with a theoretical framework for studying schools with a highly transient population and to shed light on the function of the school as an agency of stability in the life of both migrant and local children. In this respect we will be studying a traditional, if a bit modified, function of the school -- the enculturation of newcomers, albeit native newcomers.

Since our approach is socio-cultural, we will not be essentially concerned with *a priori* instrumentation. We intend primarily to look at the learning experiences of children through their own eyes and to give them their voice. We will use unstructured interviews and participant observation -- techniques that are aimed at the discovery of constants, of group regularities, rather than the testing of variables. These will enable us to come across unexpected data and to develop and examine our hypotheses in the field situation itself.[1*] Obviously, we will make use of information in the school cumulative records, e.g., grades, and supplement our data with available measuring devices whenever relevant.

RELATED RESEARCH

We do not know of any studies that specifically deal with the response of military dependents to schooling situations in which they are found together with local children. However, we do know of (a) some educational writings that have a bearing on this problem, and (b) sociological formulations that would help its study.

A. Educational Writings

1. Edwards, E. P., "The Children of Migratory Agricultural Workers in the Public Elementary Schools of the United States: Needs and Proposals in the Area of Curriculum," Harvard Educational Review, 30:15-52, Winter 1960.

   The Edwards article deals with the school experience of a rather extreme variety of mobile pupils: poor, low-status children of migratory farm workers. Edwards mentions the desire of migratory children to participate in stable and enduring relationships; for some of these children, the school was the only means for gaining a semblance of order and purpose in their own life (p. 13). Some of these children felt inferior, rejected, and "dumb"; other children made them feel they were different (p. 21). Some teachers approached these children with warmth and understanding, making them feel welcome and comfortable, and not letting other children call them names (pp. 13, 27, and 30). Some teachers were deliberately concerned with discovering classroom contributions that these children could make, e.g., through utilizing these children's practical knowledge of geography and arithmetic (pp. 28, 30, and 37). With the advent of these children, the previous pace of the classroom work was slowed down; acceptable school standards were lowered; school facilities were over-crowded (pp. 24, 25, and 28). The entrance and departure of these children were sudden and erratic; their previous school records were either incomplete or unavailable (pp. 24 and 28). Some of the social values that the school tried deliberately to impart to these children were: a sense of time, the desirability of getting a haircut and of physical cleanliness, and the importance of table manners (p. 47).

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*See footnotes at the end of this report.

The Edwards article is relevant to this study in that it deals with the attitudes of migrant children to the school, with interaction between migrant and local pupils, and with the role of the teacher in the transmission of predominant cultural values[2] and in defending and "claiming" classroom strangers.[3]

[2] (a) Spelts, R. F., "Prairie Pupils Program," Education, 81: 455-459, April 1961.

(b) Hayes, E., "Changing Neighborhood -- Chainging School," Educational Leadership, 27:298-301 and 324, February 1960.

These two articles deal with military dependents -- Spelts' with those of the Douglas School District in Pennington County, South Dakota; Hayes' with those of Fort Campbell, Kentucky. Spelts mentions that the frequent mobility of military dependents disrupts their learning and severs whatever local ties they establish (p. 455). Hayes says that one of the results of mobility is the creation of insecurity, fear, shyness and tension on the part of many of these children (p. 324). The Douglas School District emphasizes remedial reading, close supervision of pupils, individual and group instruction, health and physical education (Spelts, p. 458); the Fort Campbell School system has pupil groups for both learning and adjustment (Hayes, p. 300). Both Spelts and Hayes mention the contribution of children's achievement to parental morale; both authors maintain that the frequent mobility of children puts extra pressure on the school system to examine its ways of reporting pupil progress and interpreting the school to the parents. The staff of the school districts have a keen sense of public relations; they issue periodic publications to parents, have open days for their visits, and emphasize personal contacts by teachers (Spelts, p. 457; Hayes, p. 324).

In this study we will be interested in exploring the reaction of military dependents to frequent mobility, in the way they view discontinuity in learning and severance from local peers.

3. (a) Meade, E. J., Jr., "American Schools Overseas," Saturday Review, pp. 44-45 & 52, August 17, 1963.

(b) Fitzpatrick, J. L., "Some Observations on the Overseas Educational Program," Office of the Superintendent of Schools, Chicopee, Mass., Typescript, 10 p.(pp. 1-7: October 7, 1959; pp. 8-10: January 15, 1963).

The Meade and Fitzpatrick accounts deal with military dependents in schools outside the United States. Meade mentions that mobility brings opportunities as well as adjustment problems. Military dependents have a first-hand understanding of geography and are sensitive to cultural differences (p. 45). The adjustment problems, however, are not specified.

Fitzpatrick mentions the large turn-over of teachers in the military dependent schools he visited (pp. 2 & 8), the relatively small class size -- about 20 pupils per class (p. 3), and the lack of complete school cumulative records and of ability and interest test scores (pp. 5 & 9). Like Spelts and Hayes (the two preceding articles), Fitzpatrick stresses the contribution of the school to the morale and stability of the family unit (p. 6). In his recommendations, Fitzpatrick strongly emphasizes the need for a guidance program to make the military dependents' education "a pleasure experience rather than a sharp, trial-and-error adjustment" (pp. 5, 6 & 9). Fitzpatrick recommends special programs for retarded and for gifted children, and written and well-defined objectives in teaching (pp. 4 & 9). He emphasizes the need for a thorough orientation program for new teachers and a special workshop for training teachers of migrant children (pp. 6 & 8).[4]

In this study, we will examine the school adjustment of military dependents and the attitudes of their teachers. We hope to come out with some policy recommendations for the in-service training of teachers.

B. Sociological Formulations

The following is a discussion of the theoretical framework for this study:

1. Our basic assumption is that the individual is a social product, that in becoming a person he acquires a self. The self arises through interaction, in the process of social experience and activity.[5] Progression from one stage in life to another depends on the availability of significant others; coping with new situations depends on membership in a group. Of crucial importance in this respect is the G. H. Mead assumption that persons perceive and define themselves as they believe others perceive and define them.[6]
2. A useful concept that links the individual with the institutional structure is that of "career," a concept originally developed in studies of occupations, especially by Everett C. Hughes and his students. Objectively, "career" refers to a sequence of movements through a series of statuses and officially defined positions; subjectively, it refers to the "moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things that happen to him."[7] "Career contingencies" includes both institutional facts and personal perspectives; it refers to "factors on which mobility from one position to another depends."[8]

The present study is concerned with the career stages of a group of migrant pupils -- military dependents; with discovering and explaining the status sequences which characteristically occur in their schooling experiences. It may be thought that passage from one status to another is not perhaps as smooth among migrant pupils as among local ones. In this respect, we will be interested in the differences within migrant and local pupils and between them.

3. Institutional rules define interaction for persons and constrain their choices. In attempting to solve problematic situations in an institutional setting, persons mediate their choices through informal groups and develop a co-ordinated view. That is when "perspectives" arise, a concept that includes both self-conceptions and defenses. As discussed by Becker and Greer, "perspectives" refers to ways of thinking and acting in a problematic situation.[9] It would be useful, for example, to study the perspectives of migrant and local children regarding school marks and conduct.

4. The pupil, in a sense, lives in the classroom daily. Both his teacher and classmates make assumptions as to what he should do and get, and hence, what he should be. A social organization such as the classroom can thus be viewed as a place for generating assumptions about one's identity; that is to say, a pupil's participation in the classroom has self-defining implications.[10] We will be interested in finding out the extent to which the classroom is a primary group for migrant as well as local children.

5. The role of the "stranger" is that of a person on his way from one social location to another, of a person in limbo between groups.[11] "Culture shock" and "anomie" (normlessness) refer to the negative feeling of the person in his experience as a

stranger.[12] Successful adaptation of the newcomer depends on membership in a group that facilitates his transition, on an "adaptive enclave" through which he acquires a new frame of reference.[13] In his study of suburban adults, Gutman mentions the "integrators," local persons who provide a definition of proper behavior and through whom newcomers become acquainted with existent social networks.[14] Both Simmel and Schuetz mention the objectivity and, at times, uncanny precision of the stranger in analyzing local cultural patterns.[15] One adaptive reaction of the stranger is termed by Nash "involved detachment;"[16] Henry, on the other hand, maintains that the school nowadays actually drills pupils in "uninvolvement."[17]

In studying military dependents, we will make use of the aforementioned notions about the stranger's role and draw upon Gutman's study of suburban newcomers. In this regard, we have the following questions: Do military dependents integrate themselves more through informal pupil cliques than through such established avenues of participation as a class committee or a basketball team? Do military dependents participate more in a school-wide than a particular classroom's activities? How do military dependents as newcomers behave in order to facilitate their assimilation into the school? Do they assume limited or considerable initiative in social interaction and friendship formation? How rapidly do they become members of social networks already established among local pupils? What norms do the old-timers, the "integrators," communicate to the newcomers? Do the "integrators" tend to be soical isolates? Do newcomers become leaders in formal or informal pupil groups? Do local pupils view newcomers as aggressive, retiring, or uncertain, or do they have a wide range of tolerance toward newcomers? Do newcomers tend to be more tolerant than locals in that they are willing to acknowledge the legitimacy of a wide range of behavior patterns? In the interaction of newcomers and locals, what are the issues around which status striving, competition, or enforced conformity occur? The norms governing the relationship between newcomers and oldtimers in the society of children are ambiguous and, at best, known only as adult speculations; hence, the need for organized knowledge in this area.

We hope to study variations in the responses of military dependents to their schooling situations and to compare their responses with those of local pupils. Differences in the reactions of boys and girls to the school will be examined. The study is focused on a number of sixth-grade classrooms where military dependents constitute a majority, a minority, the entire grade enrollment, or about half of it.

Since we primarily depend on unstructured interviews and ethnographic observation, our method is inductive; we do not have hypotheses to be tested in the experimental sense. The hypotheses we have are propositions to be examined in the field or derived out of data analysis. Some of the tentative propositions we have are the following:

1. Exposure to a variety of adults and peers may tend to make military dependents more suave and conversationally adept than locals.
2. Dealing with the social and educational demands of different schools may prompt military dependents to establish less intense ties and regard their peers as "replaceable significant-others."

3. Lack of schooling continuity in one institution may result in poorer academic achievement on the part of military dependents than locals.
4. Because of the strain of transition, military dependents may, as a group, have more behavioral problems than locals.
5. Successful adaptation of military dependents to the school, as defined by themselves, depends on an "enclave" composed of older newcomers and local "integrators" (cf. Nash & Gutman~~,~~ footnotes 13 & 14); it also depends on their being "claimed" by teachers (see footnote 3).
6. Persons tend to define others on the basis of social position or the problems they cause them in the performance of their work. Teachers would tend to define military dependents on the basis of academic achievement and classroom conduct.

PROCEDURES

A. General Design

In a sense, physical mobility may be considered as the independent variable of this study; school behavior, academic achievement, and school and self-attitudes as dependent variables. For comparative purposes, local pupils may be considered a control group; military dependents as experimental group. For unstructured interviews, local and migrant pupils are matched on the basis of sex and mobility level of the classroom (the distribution of military dependents in it). In addition to the views of peers, the way such orientational adults as teachers define the schooling situation of children will be taken into consideration.

B. Population and Sample

The population of this study consists of the 1964-65 and 1965-66 sixth-grade military dependents in two New England states. In statistics issued by State Departments of Education, however, this population is neither listed separately nor by grade; it is part of "federally-connected children" at all grade-levels, i.e., children of government employees, military and civilian, for whom some school districts receive financial aid for school operation and maintenance under Public Law 874.[18] In 1963-64 for example, there were 38,665 "federally-connected children" in 183 school districts in one New England state who made up 7.6% of these districts' total school population. These children are found in Kindergarten through grade twelve; in relation to each district's total enrollment in that state, these children constituted the following percentages.

(a)	Under 10%	146 districts
(b)	10 - 29%	33 districts
(c)	30 - 49%	2 districts
(d)	50 - 69%	1 district
(e)	Over 70%	1 district
		183 districts

We did not know, for example, how many "federally-connected children" who made up less than 10% of a district's enrollment were sixth-graders and how many of these children were military dependents. Hence, in order to determine a 1964-65 sixth-grade population from which we could draw a sample for this study, we asked the superintendent of each of the 183 above-mentioned school districts to provide us with the following information: (a) the number of 1964-65 sixth-graders he expected to have in his school system; (b) the number of sixth-grade classrooms in each school; (c) the number of local boys and girls, and of military dependent boys and girls, in each sixth-grade classroom; (d) the location of sixth-grade classrooms, i.e., whether on a military base or in the regular schools of the district; (e) which of these sixth-grade classrooms were terminal in a school and which were not, i.e., whether sixth-graders were at the top of children's pecking order in a school or were found together with 7th graders and older children; (f) the name of the teacher of each sixth-grade classroom; (g) the name of the counselor and the name of the school principal. This information was not available except from the superintendent; it was not listed in any publication of the State Department of Education.

In 1964-65, we chose our classroom sample from only one New England state. In 1965-66, we chose our classroom sample from two New England States: the one we had in 1964-65 plus another one. We used two samples in this project so that one year's findings could be used as a check on the other's and that, if necessary, procedures in the second year could be refined or modified in light of the first year's experience.

1964-65 Classroom Sample

All P. L. 874 federally impacted school districts in one New England state where federally connected children constituted 10% or more of the total district enrollment were contacted. Enrollment data showing the distribution of military dependents, other federally connected children and local children in each sixth-grade classroom in these districts were obtained. On the basis of the percentages of military dependents in these districts' sixth-grade classrooms in October, 1964, the 1964-65 sample was selected.

This was a stratified random sample of 30 sixth-grade classrooms chosen on the basis of the number and location of these classrooms in each school system and the percentage of military dependents in them.

The 1964-65 school districts in the project, together with the number of sixth-grade classrooms selected from each, are shown in Table G-1. (Note: In this report, the letters preceding Table numbers refer to chapter headings, e.g., "G" for general introduction, "M" for mobility, "S" for sociometric status, and so forth.)

TABLE G-1
1964-65 SAMPLE BY DISTRICTS, SCHOOLS
CLASSROOMS, & MOBILITY STATUS OF PUPILS

Note: "Mobility status" refers to whether a child is a military dependent, other federally connected, or local pupil.

			P. L. 874		Non-P.L.874	
District	No. of Schools	No. of Classrooms	Mil. Deps. (Mobile Pupils)	Other Fed. Conn.	Local Pupils	(Totals)
A	1	7	153	1	50	(204)
B	1	3	7	69	10	(86)
C	1	2	4	11	44	(59)
D	7	12	133	12	247	(392)
E	1	3	17	11	51	(79)
F	1	1	5	0	15	(20)
G	1	2	4	3	48	(55)
7	13	30	323	107	465	(895)

As Table G-1 shows, in 1965-65, we had in our project 7 school districts, 13 schools, 30 sixth-grade classrooms, 323 military dependents, 107 other federally connected, and 465 local, non-P.L. 874 pupils; a total of 895 pupils. The percentages of military dependents (mobile pupils) in the 30 classrooms were as follows:

(a) Zero - 10%: 10 classrooms, termed "low mobility" classrooms.
(b) 15 - 40%: 10 classrooms, termed "medium mobility" classrooms.
(c) 56 - 100%: 10 classrooms, termed "high mobility" classrooms.

Among the thirty 1964-65 classrooms, there were two composed entirely of military dependents and two composed entirely of local pupils.

For comparative purposes (between and within differences), the 30 classrooms could also be divided into two groups: X -- with a predominance of military dependents (mobile pupils) and Y -- with a predominance of local pupils. (The Y classrooms would serve as "controls," a sort of base-line.)

X Classrooms		Y Classrooms	
(a) 100% military dependents:	2	Zero % military dependents:	2
(b) Over 70% military dependents:	4	Under 29% military dependents:	16
(c) 50-69% military dependents:	4	30-49% military dependents:	2
	10		20

On the basis of the above two-way and three-way division of classrooms, the analysis of data was to proceed later on and differences between local and mobile pupils determined. In those 30 classrooms in 1964-65, we initially had approximately 900 pupils. By June, 1965, because of in and out transfers, we had approximately 950 children on our books.

1965-66 Classroom Sample

In July of 1965, we reveiwed the overall enrollment data for all P. L. 874 federally impacted school districts in various New England states. We took into account districts where, in 1964-65, P. L. 874 children constituted 10% or more of the total district enrollment. Moreover, enrollment data showing the distribution of military dependents, other federally connected children, and local children in each sixth-grade classroom were obtained from several New England districts. On the basis of the percentages of military dependents in these districts' sixth-grade classrooms in 1964-65, the 1965-66 sample was to be selected.

In 1965-66, we thought it advisable to deal only with a small number of districts and a small number of schools. That, in our opinion, would contribute to closer relations with school personnel as well as simplify travel; it would also make our field-work efforts more comprehensive. Hence, we thought it also advisable that, in selecting a district, we would include all its sixth-grades in the sample rather than a portion thereof. Another criterion we considered was to have the bulk of our sample in the same New England state we had in the previous year.

On the basis of the aforementioned considerations, we selected a sample for 1965-66. The 1965-66 school districts in the project -- together with the number of schools and sixth-grade classrooms, and the percentages of military dependents (mobile pupils) in the sixth-grades -- are shown in Table G-2.

TABLE G-2

1965-66 SAMPLE BY DISTRICTS, SCHOOLS, CLASSROOMS, & MOBILITY STATUS OF PUPILS

Districts	No. of Schools	No. of Classrooms	P.L. 874 Mil. Deps. (Mobile Pupils)	P.L. 874 Other Fed. Conn.	Non-P.L.874 Local Pupils	(Totals)
A	1	7	183	10	33	(226)
B	2	7	11	35	221	(267)
H	2	11	211	40	134	(385)
3	5	28	405	85	388	(878)

As Table G-2 shows, in 1965-66 we had in our project 3 school districts, 5 schools, 28 sixth-grade classrooms, and 878 pupils, about half of whom were military dependents. The overall percentages of military dependents in the sixth-grade classrooms of each of the three 1965-66 school districts were: District A, 72.1%; District B, 21.0%; and District H, 48.6%. Thus for comparative purposes (between and within differences), we had three classroom groups: (a) one in which mobile pupils constituted a decisive majority (more than two-thirds), (b) one in which they constituted a decisive minority (about one-fifth), and (c) one in which mobile and local pupils were about evenly distributed (about half-and-half). In District A, class size ranged from 28 to 32 pupils; in B, 26-28; and in H, with the exception of one class that had 43 pupils, 30-34.

As with the 1964-65 sample, by June of 1966 we had more pupils on our books than we had started with. This was due to newcomers to, and transfers from, the school. Whereas we can say that during each of the 1964-65 and 1965-66 school years we had more than 900 pupils in the project, we can only report data on most, not all, of them (e.g., academic achievement data). The fluctuations in the number of pupils associated with different types of data are due to pupil absences when the tests were given as well as to their in-and-out-of-school mobility. Also, because we were interested in comparison of first-of-year and end-of-year achievement and other measures on the same pupils, the quantitative data reported deal with most, not all, the sixth-grade pupils we had during each of the two school years.

C. Data and Instrumentation

1. Academic Achievement

How does the academic achievement of military dependents -- as measured by standardized tests and indicated by the usual teacher ratings of marks, letter grades, or satisfactory-unsatisfactory categories -- compare with that of local pupils? In order to answer this question, we administered the Stanford Achievement Battery to the sixth-graders in each year's sample in two different forms in October and May of the school year.

2. Classroom Sociograms

Is there a difference between the sociometric structures of predominantly migrant and predominantly local classrooms? To answer this question, we administered the following sociometric test: "Write the name of your 5 best friends -- they can be at this school or any other place." The purpose of this question is to get at friendship formations outside the classroom and thus qualify the position of the isolate on the sociogram. This sociometric test was given at the beginning and end of the school year in each of the 30 classrooms. Classroom sociograms would reveal changes in group structure, in influence patterns or friendship formations of pupils, and may point to presence or absence of sex, or migrant-local, bifurcation, to bridging leaders, and to isolates.

3. Self-Attitudes of Pupils

Is there a difference between the way military dependents and local pupils view themselves? To answer this question, we used a non-structured self-evaluation test originally developed by Kuhn and McPartland, and known in the literature as the Twenty Statement Test or the Who-Am-I Test.[19] In administering this test to children, we asked them to write 10 or more statements in answer to the question "Who Am I?" From previous work on this test, it has been found that personal responses are usually classifiable into four categories:

(a) Physical attributes, e.g., "I am blond, I am 5 foot tall."

(b) Social Memberships, e.g., "I am on the basketball team."

(c) Feelings and Intentions, e.g., "I don't like school; I would like to play basketball."

(d) Unanchored generalizations and responses that are hard to relate to the immediate context, e.g., "The earth is round."

Most people, especially adults, make statements in the middle categories -- i.e., (b) and (c), memberships and feelings -- that center around social participation and involvement. A preponderance of statements in the extreme categories -- (a) and (d) may be regarded as preoccupations that are indicative of maladjustment.

The Who-Am-I Test was administered in the sixth-grade classrooms at the beginning and end of the school year.

4. Attitudes towards the School

What is the difference between the attitudes of military dependents as migrant children and the attitudes of local pupils toward the local school as a social setting -- toward their school work, classmates, teachers, and principal? How to they characterize their schooling experience? To answer these and other questions mentioned previously, we interviewed, each year, a random sample of about 100 local and migrant children from the sixth-grade classrooms in our project. We mostly chose migrant children who had at least passed through two other school systems and local pupils whose schooling had been only in the local district. The interview was of the unstructured, or open-ended, variety and lasted approximately half an hour.

5. Classroom Observation

What kind of a place is the classroom for both migrant and local pupils? What types of pupil-pupil and pupil-teacher interaction take place in it? What range of alternative responses and freedom of action is allowed in it? What social values are communicated? To answer these questions, we collected data in an ethnographic manner, data yielding observational protocols that treat the classroom as a slice of life (cf. Jules Henry's and Marie M. Hughes' classroom observations). In this approach, the observer views the classroom as a little society, notes the interchange between teacher and pupils (the sequence of events, the reactions, the eloquent glance or grunt, the influence structure and distribution, the whole interactional ecology) and records as many verbatim statements as possible. This is in essence a modified form of participant observation, carried out in the classroom for an hour or an hour-and-a-half every week or two.[20] During 1964-65 and 1965-66, each of the sixth-grade classrooms were observed about ten times during the school year. In addition, the observer spent some total days at the school, in and outside the classroom, participating in the school life of teachers and pupils.

During our field-work in schools, we not only did classroom and playground observation but also talked with teachers, guidance personnel, principals, and superintendents. In addition to the scheduled interviews we had with pupils each school-year, we also had a chance to talk with many of them informally. We were particularly interested in the way the newcomer saw the school and the way the leave-taker reflected on his experience. Because of our primary focus on children's rather than adults' viewpoints, we were also interested in how both mobile and local pupils defined mobility and locality.

Because this project is centered on what happens to the child under school auspices and his role as pupil, we were not interested in data about his home environment. Since, be definition, this is a socio-cultural study of schooling, we have focused on the school environment. Because interviewing parents would have involved more manpower than we had and because of our set of priorities, we did not interview the parents of either local or mobile pupils.

D. Analysis of Data

We have used qualitative analysis as well as quantitative methods to get at differences between local and migrant children as well as differences within each group. We have been interested in general trends and group attributes, in the total picture that emerges out of the data. Hence, we have based our data analysis not only on aggregates of pupils -- that is, without regard to the classrooms in which they are found -- but also on total classroom groups.

In 1964-65, we were concerned with only one New England state; in 1965-66, with a sub-regional sample. This way, we hoped to refine our methods as well as study the schooling career problem in a culturally distinct region of public education.

In both 1964-65 and 1965-66, we collected inter-school mobility, achievement, sociometric, and self-concept data; interviewed pupils and other school personnel; and did classroom observation. 1966-67 was spent on data analysis.

During the three years of the project, we met at various times with school personnel for periodic statistical reports. We benefited a great deal from their suggestions and comments. As per our initial agreement with them, no person or school was, or is, identified. By mutual agreement, we have focused on group regularities and overall patterns; if a name or final initial occurs in the pupil interview data, it has been merely coined to preserve the flavor of a quotation in preference to peppering it with typographic blanks.

A WORD ABOUT FORTHCOMING CHAPTERS

This study is focused on mobility as a geographic, social, and educational phenomenon. It is concerned with a traditional, if a bit modified, function of the school -- the enculturation of pupils on the move in addition to local pupils. In the chapters that follow, we will discuss the pupil as a participant in groups -- his movement between groups, the effect of groups on him, as well as his effect on himself and others.

From an account on the rates of mobility as it pertains to schools, we will proceed to a discussion of academic achievement as it pertains to sociology and education; to such social-psychological concerns as friendship formation, sociometric status, and self-concept; to the phenomenology of the stranger and non-stranger in public schools; and then to schools sociologically and anthropologically viewed especially from the standpoint of the pupil. A final chapter serves as a brief attempt at bridging the gap between the "is" and "should" of education; it deals with policy recommendations in such areas as curriculum planning, guidance services, and the in-service training of teachers -- recommendations that may assist the school in meeting the needs of its mobile pupils.

All throughout, we will be concerned with the phenomenology of the schooling career, that is, with an attempt at exploring the inner logic of the pupil's subjective experience in his movement between institutions -- a subjective experience acquired in the world of others and objectifiable in the group's logic of everyday life, in what they take for granted. Obviously, we will be interested in group patterns, in the views of the pupil's "significant others" both in the classroom and on the playground, in the person's unconditioned free choice, in his "rites of passage," "culture shock," and adaptation. Essentially, this is a study of the stranger in public schools, a case of the adult and non-adult strangership in a complex Gesellschaft. We will try to focus on the person in relation to the institution and vice-versa -- not on the person or the group alone, but rather touch them at the same time.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, American schools have performed an assimilative function; as an instrument of the culture, they have helped to weld diverse immigrant groups into a nation. Nowadays, schools are being called upon not to assimilate newcomers from distant shores, but to assimilate native newcomers -- geographically mobile children and lower-class Negroes and whites. From enculturating immigrants, schools have turned to in-migrants.

Physical mobility has been part and parcel of American History. Nowadays, it is popularly estimated that 50 million Americans move every year, that is, they change their addresses beyond a city or county. Of these, many, of course, are children, their parents are migratory farm workers, employees of large industrial concerns, or military personnel. Quite often, these children pass through two or three school systems before they complete the elementary phase of their schooling. Since they move in considerable numbers, they are found in some school districts as a distinct population; in their schooling careers, they tend to be permanent members of a continuously transient pupil group. These children share a pattern of experience that distinguishes them from local pupils; their educational experience lacks continuity in, and commitment to, a single institution; it is marked by an enlarged stock of encounters, by removal from old associations, and adaptation to a wider variety of adults and peers.

Our project is focused on pupils on the move in comparison with local children. Obviously, geographic mobility is not just simple travel, a sheer act of movement; when people move physically from one place to another, they always, in reality, move from one social group to another. Sociologically, the study of physical mobility is the study of strangership, of Park's "marginal man" in limbo between groups, of a person on his way from one social location to another. Thus in our project we are concerned with the mobile pupil as a "stranger," with his role as a newcomer -- his "culture shock," status change, membership in a group that facilitates his transition, and sponsorship by his classmates or teacher.

In studying physical mobility, we are , in line with our sociological perspective, dealing with a cultural phenomenon that cuts across both the school and society -- and a well-known and an important phenomenon at that. We would like to emphasize that we consider physical mobility as a given; it is widespread and merits attention in its own right; we will neither romanticize it as an ideal nor disparage it as a deviation from small-town stability. Our task is neither to praise nor blame, but to explain.

Obviously, geographic mobility can be measured in space and time. Such things as the following could be taken into consideration: (a) the number of moves between different cities; (b) the distance of the move, i.e., whether beyond or within a city or county; (c) the direction of the move, i.e., towards or away from the initial city in which kindergarten or first-grade had been attended; and (d) the chronology of the move, e.g., the grade in which the pupil had entered the school. In other words, geographic mobility like Simmel's stranger [1], incorporates both physical and social distance and could be viewed not only in relation to frequency of moves but also their social intensity. Whatever categorization of geographic mobility we adopt would, in the final analysis, be indicative of a typology of social anchoring and marginality, of sub-varieties of school natives and strangers. This is crucial for our study since, in essence, we are concerned with the larger issue of what the school does in enculturating pupils on the move as well as local pupils. For us, geographic mobility is a primary lens for looking at the pupil's academic achievement and school behavior, for examining his schooling career.

With the above considerations in mind, we have chosen to adopt a simple measure of geographic mobility: the number of different cities or towns in which the pupil attended school constitutes his number of moves, the index of his mobility. That is to say, if a pupil attended school in the same city more than once, only one move was counted for him. Thus at this stage of our analysis we have been concerned with "larger" moves, with mobility between different cities, not with mobility within the same city. (Concentration on schools attended by the pupil within the same city would have given us sub-varieties of "locals" without an adequate basis for comparison with pupils who usually tend to move between cities, military dependents.) We have considered one kind of movement in space, moves between cities, as "territorial passage" in Van Gennep's sense, i.e., as connected with movement in status, with a different social position.[2]

Mobility between cities is not synonymous with mobility between school districts; obviously, a school district may consist of more than a town or city; a city, of more than one school district. Our data, which have been collected from pupils, do not deal with school districts. Should the school cumulative records of pupils in the sample contain, among other things, entries on pupils' movements between school districts, then we would analyze such entries.

1964-65 & 1965-66 SAMPLES

How mobile are "mobile" children? How local are "local" ones?

In our study, "mobile" children are P.L. 874 military dependents; "local" children are non-P.L. 874 children who are assumed to have grown up and gone to school in the same community. In January, 1965, we administered the form entitled "Schools You Have Attended" to pupils in the 30 classrooms in our 1964-65 sample. In late May, 1965, we administered this form to all pupils who had not previously completed it. By the end of 1964-65, we had returns from 894 pupils. Of these, 329 were military dependents, 518 were local children, and 47 were P.L. 874 federally-connected children who were not military dependents. This other kind of P.L. 874 children, the 47, are thought by school personnel to be actually local children.

In early December, 1965, we administered to pupils in the 28 sixth-grade classrooms in our 1965-66 sample the form entitled "Schools You Have Attended." In late May, 1966, we administered this form to all pupils who had not previously completed it. By the close of the 1965-66 school-year, we had returns from 880 pupils. Of these, 409 were military dependents, 94 were other federally-connected children, and 377 were non-P.L. 874 (or local) children.

TABLE M-1

1964-65 SAMPLE: DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY MOBILITY STATUS & NO. OF CITIES IN WHICH THEY ATTENDED SCHOOL

Note: "Mobility Status" is a designation of the three pupil categories in the sample: military dependents, other federally-connected, & local pupils.

	P.L. 874 Pupils		Non-P.L. 874 Pupils	
No. of Cities	Mil. Deps. (Mobile Pupils)	Other Fed. Conn. Pupils	Local Pupils	(Totals)
6 & above	39 (11.8%)	1 (2.1%)	3 (0.6%)	(43)
5	47 (14.3%)	1 (2.1%)	8 (1.5%)	(56)
4	95 (28.9%)	4 (8.5%)	16 (3.1%)	(115)
3	91 (27.7%)	6 (12.8%)	30 (5.8%)	(127)
2	44 (13.4%)	6 (12.8%)	85 (16.4%)	(135)
1	13 (3.9%)	29 (61.7%)	376 (72.6%)	(418)
Totals:	329	47	518	(894)

$X^2 = 486.242.$ D.F. = 10. P is less than 0.001.

TABLE M-2

1965-66 SAMPLE: DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY MOBILITY STATUS & NO. OF CITIES IN WHICH THEY ATTENDED SCHOOL.

	P.L. 874 Pupils		Non-P.L. 874 Pupils	
No. of Cities	Mil. Deps. (Mobile Pupils)	Other Fed. Conn. Pupils	Local Pupils	(Totals)
6 & above	41	0	7	(48)
5	78	1	7	(86)
4	110	3	9	(122)
3	107	11	44	(162)
2	63	31	118	(212)
1	10	48	192	(250)
Totals:	409	94	377	(880)

$X^2 = 344.767.$ D.F. = 10. P is less than 0.001.

With regard to the 1964-65 sample, Table M-1 shows that military dependents move through more cities than the other pupils and that this mobility is definitely not due to chance. Moreover, the percentages in this Table provide a quick comparison of the mobility of each of the three categories of pupils. We have found out that the 329 military dependents in this sample have, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, on the average (the arithmetical mean) attended school in approximately 4 cities, whereas each of the other federally-connected children and the "local" (non-P.L. 874) children have, on the average, attended school in 2 cities (the precise averages are, respectively, 3.72, 1.83, and 1.46 cities). Thus in this sample, other federally-connected children are similar to local children in their average mobility but military dependents have made two more moves than either of them. We can conclude that the "mobile" children of our study, military dependents, are truly mobile, but that neither the civilian federally-connected children nor the non-P.L. 874 "local" children are completely local!

Table M-2, which deals with the 1965-66 sample, essentially shows the same results as the previous Table. The 409 military dependents, on the average, attended school in approximately 4 cities; each of the other federally-connected and "local" non-P.L. 874 children, on the average, attended school in 2 cities. (The precise averages are, respectively, 3.80, 1.70 and 1.79 cities.) Thus civilian federally-connected children, in their average pattern of moves, are as local as "local" children whereas military dependents are twice as mobile as either of them.

VARIETIES OF OLDTIMERS & NEWCOMERS AMONG SIXTH-GRADERS

Sixth-graders in each of our 1964-65 & 1965-66 samples are composed of three kinds of pupils: military dependents, civilian federally-connected children, and non-P.L. 874 (or "local") children. To what extent are some of these pupils complete newcomers to their school or school district? That is, how many of them entered their present school or a district only in the sixth-grade? How many sixth-graders had attended the same school in the fifth-grade? How many were in the same district but at another school in the fifth-grade? How many sixth-graders had attended the fifth-grade in the same school not for a full year but for only half a year? That is, how many first entered the fifth-grade in the spring semester? Obviously, those sixth-graders who were at the same school in the fifth-grade could be considered old-timers; those who first entered their school in the sixth-grade, newcomers. In between, there are those pupils who were acquainted with another school in the district in the fifth-grade and those who only spent a semester, rather than a full year, in the fifth-grade. Hence, what these questions point out is varietites of school natives and strangers or degrees of strangership (lack of acquaintance) with a school or school district. In addition, such questions give us a glimpse of the movement of fifth-graders from school to school in the same district.

Tables M-3 to M-5 ("M" for mobility) are an attempt to answer the aforementioned questions. The column "5th-grade same school" means that pupils were in the fifth-grade when school started; they could have first entered school in a lower grade. That is to say that these pupils may be oldtimers from way back; the fifth-grade attendance is just a convenient cut-off point to give us one-year indication of oldtimership. The same goes for the column entitled "5th-grade, same district, other school" it is indicative of attendance, not first entry. "5th-grade, 1/2 year, same school" & the last column are, obviously, indicative of first entry into the school. We would like to add another "note" for interpreting these Tables: In 1964-65 not all sixth-grade classrooms in each of the 7 districts were included; in 1965-66 they were. Hence for 1965-66, the figures are indicative of the total sixth-grade population of the district; for 1964-65, of a segment. One more caveat: The figures are indicative of enrollments in a district at a specific point in time (January, 1964, or December, 1965); they do not include children who transferred in or out of a district by the end of the school year.

Table M-3 deals with oldtimership and newcomership separately for boys and girls. Table M-4 combines boys and girls. Table M-5 shows the percentages of such a combination.

Table M-5 shows that in the 1964-65 sample, about one third of sixth grade pupils of district A were military dependents who were complete newcomers to their school whereas only about 2% of non-P.L. 874 pupils were newcomers. In the same district, about 28% of the military dependents among sixth-graders of the same district were oldtimers, that is, they had attended the fifth-grade in the same school. On the other hand, in 1965-66, about 36% of sixth-graders were military dependents as well as newcomers; about 34% were military-dependent oldtimers. In the same year, about 2% of sixth-graders in the same district were non-P.L. 874 children as well as newcomers; about 12%, oldtimers. In district B, for example -- which, unlike district A has sixth-graders who are mostly non-P.L. 874 children rather than military dependents -- three-quarters of the 1964-65 sixth-graders were "local" semi-oldtimers; 5%, "local" newcomers. And so on for the rest of the districts for 1964-65. and 1965-66.

For an overall look at each year's sample, 18.11 of all sixth-grade pupils in 1964-65 were complete newcomers (14.08 + 3.69 + 0.34) who first entered their districts in the sixth-grade; 54.41% were oldtimers who had attended the fifth-grade in the same school for the whole school-year. The rest of the pupils are semi-strangers (or semi-oldtimers) having been in the fifth-grade of the same school for only half a year or having been at another school in the same district in the fifth-grade. For 1965-66, 24.6% of all sixth-graders were complete newcomers; 24.03% were oldtimers -- the complete strangers and "veteran" oldtimers being equal, each about one-quarter of the sample, and the semi-oldtimers being about half.

TABLE M-3

1964-65 & 1965-66 SAMPLES:

Sixth-Grade Pupils according to Entry into School District in Fifth or Sixth-Grade -- Distributed by Sex & Mobility Status

Note: (a) Date mobility form was filled out for 1964-65: January 12-20, 1965; for 1965-66, December 6-9, 1965.

(b) Mobility Status: Military Dependents, Other Federally-Connected Pupils, and Local Pupils.

(c) B: boys; G: girls; M: Military Dependents; L: Local Pupils; F-C: Other Federally-Connected Pupils.

Year	District	6th grade Total Response		5th grade Same School						5th grade 1/2 year Same School						5th grade Same District Other School						Entered in 6th grade					
				M		L		F-C		M		L		F-C		M		L		F-C		M		L		F-C	
		B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
64-65	A	107	97	28	30	29	15	0	1	14	12	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	33	35	2	2	0	0
	B	44	42	–	-	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0	33	32	7	3	1	4	1	3	0	0
	C	33	26	0	0	9	7	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	13	13	7	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
	D	203	189	31	27	95	104	7	3	2	4	3	1	0	0	10	15	20	13	1	1	23	21	11	0	0	0
	E	48	31	2	2	18	8	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	4	1	10	9	3	1	3	4	4	2	1	1
	F	10	10	2	2	7	6	0	0	--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	0	1	1	1	0	0
	G	24	31	1	2	18	25	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	1	3	0	0
	Total	469	426	64	63	176	165	12	7	18	16	4	2	1	1	17	19	76	68	18	6	61	65	21	12	1	2

Year	District	6th Grade Total Response		5th grade Same School						5th grade 1/2 year Same School						5th grade Same District Other School						Entered in 6th grade					
				M		L		F-C		M		L		F-C		M		L		F-C		M		L		F-C	
		B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
65-66	A	110	116	33	44	17	9	4	5	11	3	1	0	0	0	4	7	1	0	0	0	37	44	2	3	0	1
	B	134	133	0	5	40	39	6	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0	62	62	9	7	1	2	10	8	3	1
	H	193	192	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	0	0	0	1	59	63	58	64	20	15	48	40	5	7	2	2
	Total	437	441	33	49	57	48	10	14	12	3	1	0	0	1	66	70	121	126	29	22	86	86	17	18	5	4
Total of Both Years		906	867	97	112	233	213	22	21	30	19	5	2	1	2	83	89	197	194	47	28	147	151	38	30	6	6

TABLE M-4

1964-65 & 1965-66 SAMPLES - - Boys & Girls Combined:

Sixth-Grade Pupils according to Entry into School District in Fifth or Sixth Grade

Year	District	6th Grade Total Responses	5th Grade Same School			5th Grade 1/2 Year Same School			5th Grade Same District Other School			Entered in 6th Grade		
			M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C
64-65	A	204	58	44	1	26	1	0	1	1	0	68	4	0
	B	86	---	---	--	--	--	--	2	65	10	5	4	0
	C	59	0	16	2	1	0	0	3	26	8	0	2	1
	D	392	58	199	10	6	4	0	25	33	2	44	11	0
	E	79	4	26	3	1	0	2	5	19	4	7	6	2
	F	20	4	13	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	0
	G	55	3	43	3	0	1	0	--	--	--	1	4	0
	Total	895	127	341	19	34	6	2	36	144	24	126	33	3

Year	District	6th Grade Total Responses	5th Grade Same School			5th Grade 1/2 Year Same School			5th Grade Same District Other School			Entered in 6th Grade		
			M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C
65-66	A	226	77	26	9	14	1	0	11	1	0	81	5	1
	B	267	5	79	15	0	0	0	3	124	16	3	18	4
	H	385	-	-	-	1	0	1	122	122	35	88	12	4
	Total	878	82	105	24	15	1	1	136	247	51	172	35	9
Total for both years		1773	209	446	43	49	7	3	172	391	75	298	68	12

TABLE M-5

1964-65 & 1965-66 SAMPLES:

Percentages of Sixth-Grade Pupils (Boys & Girls Combined) according to Entry into School District in Fifth or Sixth Grade

Note: (a) In each case, the number of pupils in each sub-category has been divided by the total number of sixth-grade pupils in the district. Example: Out of a total of 204 pupils in District "A" in 1964-65, 58 were military dependents who had entered the district in the fifth-grade. These 58 constitute 28.43% of the 204 pupils.

(b) All percentages are rounded off to the second decimal.

Year	District	6th Grade Total Responses	5th Grade Same School			5th Grade ½ Year Same School			5th Grade Same District Other School			Entered in 6th Grade		
			M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C
64-65	A	204	28.43	21.57	0.49	12.75	0.49	--	0.49	0.49	--	33.33	1.96	0
	B	86	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.33	75.58	11.63	5.81	4.65	0
	C	59	--	27.12	3.39	1.69	--	--	5.09	44.07	13.55	0	3.39	1.69
	D	392	14.80	50.77	2.55	1.53	1.02	--	6.38	8.42	0.51	11.22	2.81	0
	E	79	5.06	32.91	3.80	1.27	--	2.53	6.33	24.05	5.06	8.86	7.59	2.53
	F	20	20.00	65.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5.00	10.00	0
	G	55	5.46	78.18	5.46	--	1.82	--	--	--	--	1.82	7.27	0
	Total	895	14.19	38.10	2.12	3.80	0.67	0.22	4.02	16.09	2.68	14.08	3.69	0.34

Year	District	6th Grade Total Responses	5th Grade Same School			5th Grade 1/2 Year Same School			5th Grade Same District Other School			Entered in 6th Grade		
			M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C	M	L	F-C
65-66	A	226	34.07	11.50	3.98	6.19	0.44	0	4.87	0.44	0	35.84	2.21	0.44
	B	267	1.87	29.59	5.62	--	--	--	1.12	46.44	5.99	1.12	6.74	1.50
	H	385	--	--	--	0.26	0	0.26	31.69	31.69	9.09	22.86	3.12	1.04
	Total	878	9.34	11.96	2.73	1.71	0.11	0.11	15.49	28.13	5.81	19.59	3.99	1.03
Total of Both Years		1773	11.79	25.16	2.43	2.76	0.39	0.17	9.70	22.05	4.23	16.81	3.84	0.68

NEWCOMERS WHO ENTERED A SCHOOL DISTRICT IN THE SIXTH-GRADE

How many pupils in each year's sample were totally new to their district? That is, how many military dependents, other federally connected children, and non-federal children first entered school in 1964-65 or 1965-66 in the sixth-grade? We have combined the data we got from the pupils themselves (the "Schools You Have Attended" form) with data we got from the pupils' school cumulative-records.

Table M-6 presents the results. The top figure in each box is based on the "Schools You Have Attended" form; the lower, on the cumulative records. Some pupils who had filled out the form transferred out of school by the end of the year; others had no cumulative records -- hence the discrepancy in frequencies and percentages in the Table.

TABLE M-6

1964-65 & 1965-66 SAMPLES: NUMBERS & PERCENTAGES OF MILITARY DEPENDENTS, OTHER FEDERALLY-CONNECTED, & NON-FEDERAL ("LOCAL") PUPILS WHO ENTERED THEIR SCHOOL DISTRICT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE SIXTH-GRADE

Year	District	6th Grade Total Responses	Entered in 6th Grade		
			P. L. 874		Non-P.L. 74
			Military Dep.	Other F-C	Local
64-65	A	204 157	33.33 26.11	0 0	1.96 0.63
	B	86 89	5.81 0.22	0 0	4.65 0.33
	C	59 61	0 0	1.69 0	3.39 0.32
	D	392 382	11.22 9.68	0 0	2.81 3.66
	E	79 71	8.86 2.81	2.53 0	7.59 4.22
	F	20 18	5.00 ---	0 ---	10.00 ---
	G	55 45	1.82 0.22	0 0	7.27 0.88
	Total	895 823	14.08 10.08	0.34 0	3.69 3.28
65-66	A	226 175	35.84 32.00	0.44 0.57	2.21 2.28
	B	267 249	1.12 0.40	1.50 0.80	6.74 4.41
	C	385 353	22.86 19.83	1.04 1.69	3.12 2.83
	Total	878 777	19.59 16.34	1.03 1.15	3.99 3.21
Both Years	Total	1773 1600	16.81 13.12	0.68 0.56	3.84 3.25

Table M-6 shows that of all pupils in the 1964-65 sample, the newcomers were about 15% -- about 12% military dependents and 3% non-federal pupils. In 1965-66, the newcomers were about 20% -- about 17% military dependents, 1% other federally connected children, and 3% non-federal children. For the two years, about 18% of sixth-graders were newcomers -- about 14% military dependents, 1% other federally-connected, and 3% non-federal children.

GRADE OF ENTRY INTO DISTRICT (SCHOOL CUMULATIVE RECORD DATA)

We have a detailed Table, #M-7 (not reproduced here), based on information from the cumulative records regarding the number and kind of pupils who entered each district from grade 1 to 6. A general trend appears in the table: the majority of non-P.L. 874 children enter during the first grade, with entries during the other grades more evenly distributed. The majority of military dependents enter during grades 4, 5, & 6; other entries are more evenly distributed.

Table M-8 summarizes the aforementioned results with regard to all districts rather than separately by districts. For 1964-65, there were 270 military dependents who comprised 32.8% of the total sample (of 823). 14% of military dependents entered grade 1. Almost 60% of the 270 military dependents entered during grades 5 & 6. 78.1% of the 508 non-P.L. 874 children entered during grade 1.

For 1965-66, there were 331 military dependents comprising 42.6% of the total sample (of 777); 363 non-P.L. 874 children comprising 46.8%. 65.6% of the military dependents entered during grades 5 & 6; 65.3% of the local children entered during grade 1.

Overall result for both years: About two-thirds of the military dependents entered school districts during grades 5 & 6; at least two-thirds of the non-P.L. 874 children entered school in grade 1.

TABLE M-8

1964-65 & 1965-66 SAMPLES

Percentage of Students Entering Grades by Mobility Status According to Cumulative Records

Entered Grade #	1964 - 1965						1965-66						Total					
	P.L. 874				Non-P.L. 874		P.L. 874				Non-P.L. 874		P.L. 874				Non-P.L. 874	
	MIL. DEP.		FED. CONN.				MIL. DEP.		FED. CONN.				MIL. DEP.		FED. CONN.			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	38	14.0	36	80.1	397	78.1	22	6.6	55	66.3	237	65.3	60	9.9	91	71.1	634	72.8
2	10	3.7	2	4.4	16	3.1	9	2.7	3	3.7	26	7.2	19	3.2	5	3.9	42	4.8
3	22	8.2	2	4.4	18	2.1	25	7.5	8	9.6	18	4.9	47	7.8	10	7.9	36	4.2
4	40	14.8	2	4.4	23	4.5	58	17.6	2	2.4	25	6.9	98	16.4	4	3.1	48	5.5
5	77	28.5	3	6.7	27	5.4	90	27.2	6	7.2	32	8.8	167	27.8	9	7.0	59	6.8
6	83	30.8	0	0	27	5.4	127	38.4	9	10.8	25	6.9	210	34.9	9	7.0	52	5.9
Total	270	32.8	45	5.4	508	61.8	331	42.6	83	10.6	363	46.8	601	37.6	126	8.0	871	54.4

NOTE: Table M-7 is not reproduced. See p. 43.

1964-65 SAMPLE STATISTICS: PUPIL IN-TRANSFERS & OUT-TRANSFERS

Regarding the number of children in our sample of 30 classrooms -- in late October and early November of 1964, the teachers of the 30 classrooms supplied us with 882 names of pupils. By June, 1965, we had 943 children on our books, an addition of 61 children.

In November, 1964, when we administered our achievement and other tests, there were 853 children in the 30 classrooms. During that week, some children had transferred to other schools; others were absent for various reasons. In May of 1965 when we gave another form of our achievement tests and re-administered other tests, we got returns from 857 children.

In June, 1965, we requested our 30 teachers to tell us about newcomers and transfers between September, 1964, and June, 1965. On the basis of 26 returns out of 30, the results are as follows: (a) 84 newcomers, in-transfers; (b) 84 pupils transferred to other districts; 5 to schools within the same district; 1 to another sixth-grade class within the same school -- a total of 90 out-transfers. It appears that the number of incoming and outgoing pupils is approximately 10% in the classroom population.

1965-66 SAMPLE STATISTICS: PUPIL IN-TRANSFERS & OUT-TRANSFERS

Regarding the number of pupils in our 1965-66 sample of 28 classrooms -- in October of 1965, the teachers of the 28 classrooms supplied us with 824 names of pupils. By June, 1966, we had 930 pupils on our books, an addition of 106 pupils.

In late November and early December of 1965 when we administered our achievement and other tests, there were 834 pupils in the 28 classrooms.

In May of 1966 when we gave another form of our achievement tests and re-administered other tests, we got returns from only 805 children. By that time, some pupils had already transferred to other schools; others, during the re-testing period, were absent for various reasons.

In June, 1966, we requested our 28 teachers to tell us about newcomers and transfers between September, 1965, and June, 1966. We got returns from only 18 teachers -- summer vacations and the 1966-67 movement of teachers to new districts prevented a complete response. On the basis of 18 returns out of 28 and our own estimate for the 10 remaining classrooms, the results appear to be as follows: (a) 106 newcomers, in-transfers, and (b) 133 out-transfers to other districts. It seems that, in our 1965-66 sixth-grade sample, out-going pupils outnumber incoming ones by about 4 to 3, that on a yearly basis out-going pupils represent about 16% of the sixth-grade classroom population, whereas incoming ones represent only about 13%. This seems to be indicative of an annual in-and-out pupil movement or turnover of approximately 15% in the classroom population. It should be noted that all of the preceding figures are only approximations, merely presented to give us a rough idea about the 1965-66 fluctuation in our sample, about pupil turnover. It is an attempt to understand a "fluid" population, a rough gauge of the annual mobility of sixth-graders in some impacted school districts.

Chapter III

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

It can be said that the public school is a true reflection of society, particularly of the dominant elements in society. Essentially, the public school is a middle-class institution, permeated by the "Protestant Ethic," and closely linked to the occupational system. To study the public school is but to study a segment of the American socio-economic system.

Nowadays, the public school is considered the main avenue for upward social mobility, a mobility rooted in the American emphasis on "achievement" and "success". These in turn are but an expression of the current-day Protestant Ethic, of work as man's criterion for salvation among his fellowmen. Indeed, the average American is primarily known by the kind of work he does; it is his work which gives him both status and identity. Thus it can be seen that for parents and schoolmen, the "business" of the pupil is to go to school, that learning is his "work". It can also be seen that the pupil's academic achievement is not merely a matter of learning in the schoolman's sense of the word, but a basis for the pupil's social evaluation. In short, academic achievement as an indicator of the pupil's "market value" determines his social worth as perceived not only by his classmates and teachers but also by himself; it determines the reactions of others to him as well as his own reactions to himself. That is to say that academic achievement has implications both for the pupil's self-concept and his sociometric status.[1]

A number of writers have stressed the connection between achievement motivation and economic success, e.g. Sutton et al., Rosen, Kahl, and McCleland.[2] McCleland, for example, maintains that the Protestant Reformation has produced a new character-type in human history, a Calvinist with the conviction of creating his own salvation by doing his best -- on this earth -- in what Weber calls the "post assigned him by the Lord," that is, his occupation.[3] Such aspect of Calvinism is what we usually call the Protestant or Puritan Ethic, an ethic that seems to be indispensable to industrial societies as well as to those that desire to be industrialized. It is an ethic closely related to the "idea of progress," of man's conscious ability to improve his lot, which as the British historian Bury points out, is of recent vintage in human affairs.[4] It is also an ethic which has become increasingly distinctive of the modern type of social organization in contrast to its older forms, or -- to use Toennies's terms -- of a Gesellschaft (contractual society) rather than a Gemeinschaft (community).[5]

For the Calvinist -- to go back to McCleland's assertion -- money is the measure of success, a symbol of achievement.[6] In the same way, we can say that for the incipient Calvinist in the public schools, the young pupil with an achievement motivation, pupilship is an occupation; for him high test-scores and grades are an early form of money, a validation of his competence and self-worth. As De Charms and Moeller have shown, children's readers are replete with imagery of academic and economic achievement;[7] moreover, two out of four objectives of education commonly cited by public schoolmen are centered on such achievement ("self-realization; human relations; economic efficiency; and civic responsibility").[8] The emphasis on achievement in public schools is but a reflection of the emphasis on occupational achievement in American society; good scholastic performance is indispensable to occupational success, to future rewards in income and status.

That there is a link between education and industry has also been pointed out by Michael Young, who sees professions as being engaged in dire competition for a limited supply of academic ability. In his satire, The Rise of Meritocracy ("merit equals IQ plus effort"), Young thinks of the ruling-class of the future as an educational oligarchy, a meritocracy -- or, to use a current term, a "diploma elite" -- whose professionalization starts in nursery school.[9] It is no wonder that the public school as a nation-wide enterprise, seems to be patterned after the factory, that the institutional model for the public school is the factory!

Every society, at every stage of its history, has heroes and legends, usable as instruments for indoctrination and education of the young. In our own, the businessman is a cultural hero, a dominant model for middle-class children and for parents who desire to have their offspring middle-classed. "In classic times, heroes were god-men; in the Middle Ages they were saints; in the Renaissance they were universal men; and in our time they are the self-made men."[10] It is, thus, not surprising that schools reflect the businessman's ethos of achievement and success, for these are the very basis on which life in the school is organized and pupils rated and rewarded. It is also evident that in a sense, the school could be studied as a part of the larger socio-economic system and viewed, as Warner and other writers have asserted, as a "complicated machine for sorting and ticketing and routing children through life."[11]

In a paper depicting the American Kindergarten as a boot-camp for basic training in American cultural values,[12] H. L. Gracey divides social institutions into two kinds: (a) primary ones, those by which society is created and maintained -- the economy, the political system, and the military establishment; and (b) secondary, those that serve the former and facilitate their realization -- e.g., the school. It is in Kindergarten, according to Gracey, that the child is turned into a pupil by being conditioned to a set of school-imposed routines. The classroom's social structure, rituals, and activities are tightly controlled by the teacher. The child learns to go smoothly through a programmed day: There is Serious Time to open the school-day with, Sharing Time, Play Time, Work Time, Clean-up Time, Milk-Drinking Time, and Rest Time after which children go home. Children learn to line up, to work on the clean-up and milk details, and to finish their jobs on time. It is this early emphasis on work-discipline that makes Kindergarten in Gracey's view a cultural subsidiary of the corporation. By learning to submit to school-imposed time-systems and routines, the child later on learns to live with rigid routines imposed by "the company" and thus fit into the large-scale occupational bureaucracies of his society. The school, thus, is but another species of the corporation and the factory, and it is in Kindergarten (no more a "garten" for "Kinder" in this view) that children first encounter, collectively and outside the home, an emphasis on achievement, competition, and success in a tightly institutionalized form. The school years, starting with Kindergarten, are the critical period during which the work personality is formed.

Unlike Britain or Brazil for example, what is pervasively dominant in American society is its middle-class. It is the class that runs the public schools and whose values are embodied in educational policies and procedures -- in short, in the curriculum. Essentially, the American middle-class is a fluid class, one to which new recruits are constantly added. It is the class of "becoming" rather than of "being", of "delayed gratification" and "achievement" -- the class that travels a lot in order to arrive. Obviously, a person "achieves" not only because others succeed (others who help him by their success, that is), but also because others fail; the failure of others is important for his own success.

In this context, the school can be compared to the economic market: the achievement of a good student not only raises his own status but also lowers the status of others. Hence with regard to school work, some pupils may be said to engage in "price fixing" in order not to be put out of the running,[13] or in becoming "rate busters" in order to improve their academic stock. Often, the price of academic "price fixing" is getting along with one's classmates; of "rate busting," loss of group support. (The same thing occurs in the teacher's work.)

Why is competition so necessary for achievement? What is its socio-historical explanation? It can be said that every society, in the course of its history, develops an image of itself, a system of ideas to explain and justify its social organization. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, according to R. H. Tawney, the dominant image of society was that of the human organism, an analogy that was indispensable for explanation and legitimation of feudalism. According to this analogy, society was composed of different members, each with its own function of prayer, defense, merchandise, or tilling the soil. "Peasants must not encroach on those above them; lords must not despoil peasants."[14] In Medieval times, human relations were an extension of kinship relations, the family was a primary bestower of status, and authority -- as an expression of tightly-interlocked structures such as the church, the nobility, and the extended family -- was hardly questioned. On the other hand, since the advent of the Industrial Revolution which hastened the abolition of the interlocking systems of authority through which the person was processed, the dominant ideology of society has been the "survival of the fittest" or social Darwinism. "Competition and ceaseless struggle were accepted as the fundamental laws of life."[15] Since in this view, the fittest only survived and the less fit were doomed to failure, men deified competition in order to prove their fitness for survival. "Enlightened self-interest" became the basis of a new moral code, a reaction against the fixed status the person formerly inherited at birth and kept throughout his life. Protestantism came to be associated with the rising commercial class; a new personality type was created, whose victories were not won in the cloister, but on the battlefield, and in the counting-house and the market. Human relations became an extension of market relations, industry became the primary bestower of status (e.g., as a substitute for titles of nobility we currently have university degrees), and the person, freed from the guidelines of an interlocking system of authority, embarked upon a quest for power, experienced status anxiety, and engaged in status politics. In short, the city-state of the pre-industrial era became the nation-state of modern times, competition became a compelling ideology to cope with problems of social dislocation, identity-building, and social mobility, and, one may add, compulsory schooling became a national endeavor, an instrument to fit people into the job market and the requirements of an industrial culture.[16]

Obviously, in both the school and society, there would be no meaning for "getting ahead" if there were no people to get ahead of, which is to say that competition is an institutionalized aspect of achievement. (McCleland himself, the promoter of the concept of "achievement motivation," sees competition as a sine qua non for such motivation.)[17] The school itself is but a pathway to the world of jobs, and as a reflection of the business world, it usually takes on the trappings of an arena, a contest. It is in the school that the pupil is deliberately trained to compete with his peers in order to achieve, a competition he will carry on later on in his adult life. And in a contest, of course, he who is not well-ranked will be left out of future rewards. That the modern public school -- unlike the pre-industrial one-room schoolhouse -- is organized on the basis of segregated age groups (grades) and ability groups (e.g., achievers, over-achievers, and slow learners) that are seasonally bombarded with standardized tests, monthly examined by their teachers, and annually promoted to the next grade attests to the fact that the school itself, as an institution, is but a processing plant for people and skills and that its basic function is to serve a technologically advanced culture and reflect -- to use Callahan's phrase -- its "cult of efficiency."[18] In this regard, the public school can be seen as an arena for middle-classization of pupils and an instrument for an expanding economy.

Institutions tend to exhibit basic similarities. As Goffman says, "what is prison-like about prisons is found in institutions whose members have broken no laws."[19] To explore the range of this assumption, one can ask the following questions: What is church-like about the school? What is hospital-like about it? What is prison-like about it? What is factory-like about it? In what ways is the school similar to a family, a ship, a seminary, or a monastery? (One can, of course, explore other interesting permutations of this question, asking about what is school-like about the factory, hospital-like about the church, or prison-like about both of them, but in this study, the school is our primary object of attention.) In other chapters, we hope to examine some facets of this general question; suffice it to say here that in discussing academic achievement as an aspect of work in society, we have tended to emphasize what is factory-like about the school and what is corporation-like about it. This similarity to a production plant can even be more clearly discerned with regard to the higher forms of the school -- the college or university, currently dubbed by some of its inmates as the "knowledge factory." The point to remember is that institutions always have synthetic, never unitary, functions.[20]

As Berger says, churches quite often operate with secular values, whereas secular institutions tend to be permeated with religious practices.[21] To Berger, the public school is a church for drilling pupils in the religion of democracy;[22] to Waller, the school is a "museum of virtue".[23] Schools, according to Sumner, teach middle-class orthodoxy, not the full range of beliefs and values of society.[24] What these assumptions suggest is that school teaching can be viewed as a religious occupation. What is perhaps interesting to reflect on is that public schools, as guardians of the national character -- of competition and achievement among other values -- continue to be partially manned by converts to the middle class.[25]

School teaching, it can be said, has been a traditional avenue for the social mobility of the peasantry, of both "urban villagers," as Herbert Gans calls them, and of rural ones.[26] This is, of course, not to discount that people of non-rural background or of middle-class origins do go into teaching. What is important to take into account is that a considerable proportion of teachers continue to be converts to the middle-class -- Poles, Italians, Irishmen, Negroes, and fifth-to-eighth generation heretofore socially immobile "old stock." For various American groups, teachers colleges and schools of education in state and private universities serve as half-way houses for middle-classization. Obviously, human beings have no say in choosing their parents nor the social class ascribed to them at birth. What is essential in this regard is how some people get reclassed after birth and the effect of their re-classing on the maintenance of social institutions, e.g., public schools. That the instruction of the young, of the new generation, is in part entrusted to converts ensures, among other things, that competition and achievement continue to be zealously institutionalized in the school and that those who transmit cultural values are themselves paragons of middle-class virtues. That the public school, as a middle-class institution, is partially manned by converts ensures perpetuation of middle-class orthodoxy. No society could ask for better "cultural cops" than converts, and in this lies both the public schools' achievement and limitations!

In this section, we have dealt with some of the social implication of academic achievement and linked the public school with its cultural context. In other chapters, we will link achievement with other aspects of the school and explore further some of the sociological notions mentioned here. Now we turn our attention to the achievement data we have gathered and, in presenting an analysis of these data, we will comment on the findings.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT: FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

We have two measures of academic achievement: standardized test scores and teachers' grades. To each of our 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples of sixth-grade pupils, form "W" of the Stanford Achievement Test, Intermediate II, was administered in the fall; form "X" in the spring. A partial battery (7 sub-tests) was administered to the 1964-65 sample; a full battery (9 sub-tests including social studies and science), to the 1965-66 one. At the end of 1964-65 and 1965-66, we obtained a list of teachers' grades for that year's sample. On the basis of a preliminary analysis of the 1964-65 test scores, we discovered that military dependents tended to be better achievers than non-P.L. 874 "local" pupils. Hence we decided to administer an IQ test, the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test (multi-level edition, verbal and non-verbal batteries, form 1), to all pupils in our 1965-66 sample. We wanted to know whether pupils who might turn out to be better achievers had a higher IQ to start with.

Our study is focused on a comparison of geographically-mobile pupils with local ones. It is an exploratory study, aimed at discovering general trends. We would like to find out whether mobility has a bearing on the academic achievement and school behavior of sixth-grade children. Mobile pupils in our sample are P.L. 874 military dependents in federally impacted districts; local pupils are non-P.L. 874 children, that is, children who are assumed to have grown up in the same community and not moved around much in their schooling career. A third sub-group of children we have are those who are not military dependents but who nevertheless come under P.L. 874: we have called them "other federally-connected children." They are comparatively few in number and are, for all practical purposes, as local as the non-P.L. 874 children.

With regard to academic achievement -- as measured by test-scores and teachers' grades, and with reference to overall scores and scores on sub-tests, grade-point average and grades in various school subjects -- the questions we are asking are the following:

1. (a) In basing our analysis on entire classrooms, is there a difference between classes that are predominantly composed of military dependents (called "high-mobility classes"), those that are predominantly composed of local pupils ("low-mobility classes"), and those whose enrollment is about half-and-half ("medium-mobility classes")?
   (b) In basing our analysis on individual pupils irrespective of their classroom group, is there a difference between military dependents, other federally-connected pupils, and non-P.L. 874 pupils?
   (c) Does the IQ, age, or sex of the pupil have any bearing on his or her achievement?
2. With regard to each of the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples, is there a gain or loss in achievement by the end of the school year? Is there a difference between the fall and spring test-scores for each sample?
3. We have employed two measures of geographic mobility:
   (a) The number of cities in which a pupil attended school from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, and

(b) The number of schools attended from kindergarten through sixth-grade.

Regardless of their P.L. 874 designation, do pupils who have attended school in, say, four or more cities differ in their achievement from pupils who have attended school in only one city? Turning from "mobility by cities" to "mobility by schools," do we find any differences in achievement that are associated with the number of schools attended?

I. COMPARISON OF 3 CLASSROOM GROUPS (PREDOMINANTLY LOCAL, MOBILE OR MIXED)

Note: (a) 1964-65 Sample. Three classroom groups are compared: those with 0-7% military dependents, i.e., composed mostly of local pupils; those with 15-40% military dependents, i.e., mixed military dependent-local; and those with 56-100% military dependents, i.e., where local pupils are a minority. Each group consists of 10 classrooms. For the sake of brevity, we shall at times refer to these classroom groups, respectively, as "low-mobility," "medium-mobility," and "high-mobility" classes.

(b) 1965-66 Sample. Whereas the 1964-65 sample consisted of 30 classrooms, the 1965-66 one was made up of 28. These are divisible into three groups: 10 "low mobility" classrooms -- zero -11% military dependents; 11 "medium mobility" ones -- 42-64%; and 7 "high-mobility" ones -- 74-100%.

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores (Tables 1 & 2)[*]

   Fall and Spring results are similar. Sixth-grade classes composed predominantly of military dependents or predominantly of local, non-P.L. 874 pupils -- classes where either military dependents or local pupils constituted a decisive majority -- had higher overall scores than sixth-grade classes where military dependents and local pupils were about equally distributed.

2. Stanford Sub-tests, Fall & Spring (Tables 3 & 4)

   The Fall & Spring results are essentially similar. On the following sub-tests, classes composed predominantly of military dependents have significantly higher averages than predominantly local or mixed classes: word meaning, paragraph meaning, language composite, and arithmetic application. On these sub-tests, mixed local-military dependent classes tend to have the lowest averages. Comparison of Fall and Spring sub-tests: on Spring sub-tests, there is a consistent gain in achievement for pupils in all classroom groups.

3. Grade Point Average (Table 5).

   The G.P.A. of pupils in local classrooms was lower than that of pupils in either of the two other classroom groups. The latter were similar.

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[*] See Appendix "A" for Achievement Tables.

4. School Subjects (Table 6).

Same as G.P.A. result, #3. In average grades, where predominantly local classes tended to compare favorably with others was on spelling and handwriting, for example, rather than reading or arithmetic.

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

On the basis of a preliminary analysis of the 1964-65 achievement-test results, we decided to administer an IQ test to our second-year sample of pupils. We thought that differences in the achievement of pupils might be attributable to differences in their IQ's.

1. Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test, Multi-Level Edition, Form 1, (Table 7).

The higher the proportion of military dependents in a class, the lower their average IQ and vice-versa. That is, in our 1965-66 sample, classes composed predominantly of local pupils had a significantly higher average IQ than that of mixed mobile-local classes and that of predominantly mobile classes.

2. Achievement Unadjusted for IQ: Test Scores

Since it is thought that IQ scores and achievement test scores are positively and highly correlated, we would on the whole expect classes composed predominantly of local pupils to achieve better than those in which military dependents and local pupils are about evenly distributed and also better than those that are predominantly composed of military dependents (See B-1 above). This expectation would be true with regard to both the Fall and Spring Achievement testings.

(a) Stanford Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores Unadjusted for IQ(Tables 8 & 9, & 10 & 11 analysis of variance.)

The Fall & Spring results are similar. Classes composed predominantly of local pupils have higher average achievement scores than both the mixed and the predominantly mobile classes. Classes composed predominantly of military dependents have the lowest average.

(b) Sub-tests, Fall & Spring, Unadjusted for IQ (Tables 12 & 13).

The Fall & Spring results are similar. On all subtests, classes composed predominantly of local pupils have consistently higher averages than the two other kinds of classes. Classes composed predominantly of military dependents have consistently the lowest averages. Obviously, the overall scores reflect the sub-test scores, and vice-versa.

Comparison of Fall & Spring sub-tests: On Spring sub-tests, there is a consistent gain in achievement for all of the three classroom groups.

(c) G.P.A. Unadjusted for IQ (Table 14, analysis of variance).

The G.P.A. of classes composed predominantly of military dependents is significantly higher than that of local and of mixed classes. The mixed classes have the lowest G.P.A.

This result is the reverse of that for test scores: In this sample, classes composed predominantly of military dependents have the lowest achievement test scores but get the best grades.

(d) School Subjects, Unadjusted for IQ (Table 15).

The aforementioned finding was partially reflected in some, not all, school subjects. Classes composed predominantly of military dependents had the highest grades in handwriting, arithmetic, social studies, and science. The comparisons in reading, English, and spelling were not statistically significant.

3. Achievement with IQ Statistically Controlled.

The preceding findings tended to support the notion that the higher the IQ, the higher the achievement test score. Now suppose that all pupils had the same IQ, how would they differ in achievement? If we eliminate the effect of the IQ on achievement, if we equalize its influence, then we can see whether the local-military dependent composition of the classroom would, or would not, have any effect on achievement. In other words, if we statistically control the IQ, then we can see whether the higher proportion of mobile pupils (military dependents) in a classroom group is, or is not, associated with a higher average achievement score.

(a) Stanford Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores, Adjusted for IQ (Tables 10 & 11, analysis of covariance).

The Fall and Spring results are similar. When the IQ is equalized, the mobile-local composition of the classroom has no bearing on achievement. After eliminating differences in achievement caused by the IQ, we find that the class grouping does not have a significant effect on achievement.

Comment: When overall achievement scores are unadjusted for IQ, classes composed predominantly of local pupils show a significantly higher average than the two other types of classes. However, when the IQ is equalized (analysis of covariance), then we see that the average adjusted achievement score for local classes drops down whereas that for the two other types of classes goes up. We can surmise that pupils in classes in which military dependents and local children are about evenly distributed as well as pupils in classes that are composed predominantly of military dependents perhaps exert more effort in their achievement than pupils in classes that are predominantly local, that perhaps the phenomenon may be just an artifact of computation, that in the analysis of covariance, in statistical equalization, local classes are stripped of more IQ than the two other types of classes and hence have more to lose!

(b) Sub-tests, Adjusted for IQ

This was not done. In the analysis of overall scores when we controlled for the IQ, we discovered that mobility status did not make a difference, i.e., that classrooms composed predominantly of military dependents or of local pupils or were mixed military dependent-local did not differ significantly in their achievement. If analysis of overall scores with the IQ controlled was not significant, then no useful purpose would be served by analysis of sub-tests.

(c) G.P.A., Adjusted for IQ (Table 16, covariance).

The mobile-local composition of the classroom has a significant effect on grades; the adjusted G.P.A. for classes composed predominantly of military dependents is relatively higher than the two other G.P.A.'s. In other words, the higher the percentage of military dependents in a class, the higher their grade-point average when the influence of the IQ is statistically eliminated. This finding is contrary to #I-B-3-a, above, where no such association between mobile-local classroom composition and test scores was found.

Again, military dependents in our 1965-66 sample, even when variations between their IQ's and other pupils' are statistically equalized, still have better grades! In this sample, they don't score as well on achievement tests, but are they more adept at satisfying teachers' expectations than other pupils, or are they seen as being more conscientious and hard-working by their teachers? We raise these questions about the social meaning of grades for later exploration in conjunction with other data.

(d) School Subjects, Adjusted for IQ (Table 17, covariance).

With the IQ statistically controlled, high-mobility classes have consistently higher grades than the two other types of classes. Whereas low-mobility classes have lower grades than medium-mobility classes in all subjects except arithmetic, social studies, and science, they have higher grades in these three subjects.

II. COMPARISON OF AGGREGATES OF INDIVIDUAL PUPILS

We have, so far, based our analysis of academic achievement on total classroom groups. From classroom differences, we now turn our attention to individual differences, basing our analysis on aggregates of pupils irrespective of classrooms.

There are 3 types of pupils in our sample: Military dependents (at times for brevity's sake called "mobile pupils"); non-P.L. 874 pupils (called "local"); and pupils who come under P.L. 874 but are not military dependents (called "other federally-connected"). We have discovered that the third kind of pupils, the "other federally-connected," are very similar to local ones. Hence in our data analysis, unless otherwise specified, the other federally-connected pupils are included with the local ones.

"Mobility status" refers to whether a child is a military dependent or a local pupil.

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Achievement by Mobility Status & Sex

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores (Tables 18 & 19)

Only pupils who had both Fall & Spring scores are included. Military-Dependent Boys: 119. Military-

Dependent Girls: 139. Other Federally-Connected Boys: 27. Other Federally-Connected Girls: 16. Local Boys: 227. Local Girls: 207. Total: 735.

The Fall & Spring results are very similar. Military dependents in our 1964-65 sample were significantly superior in achievement to local pupils. There was no appreciable difference between the average scores of the "other federally-connected" children and local pupils. Military-dependent boys did very much better than local boys and than "other federally-connected" boys. The difference between the achievement of military-dependent girls and that of local girls and other federally-connected girls was too slight to be significant. Although for the entire sample the boys' achievement scores were comparable to the girls', local girls had significantly better scores than local boys.

(b) Sub-tests (Tables 20 & 21)

The following results were statistically significant in both the fall and spring testings:

(1) Mobile boys did better than local boys in paragraph meaning, language, arithmetic computation, and arithmetic application.

(2) Mobile girls did better than local girls in paragraph meaning.

(3) In spelling, the girls as a group did much better than the boys. Mobile girls were superior to mobile

boys, local girls to local boys, and "other federally connected" girls to "other federally-connected" boys.

(4) In arithmetic computation and language, local girls did better than local boys.

With regard to either the fall or the spring testing but not to both, the statistically significant results were as follows:

Fall, 1964-65: Mobile boys were superior to local boys in word meaning; to mobile girls, in arithmetic application.

Spring, 1964-65: Mobile boys were superior to local boys in spelling; mobile girls, to local girls in spelling and language; and local girls, to local boys in paragraph meaning.

Comparison of Fall & Spring sub-tests: On Spring sub-tests, there is a consistent gain in achievement for all pupil groups.

(c) G.P.A. (Table 22)

Mobile boys had a significantly higher grade-point average than either "other federally-connected" or local boys. Mobile girls were superior to local girls. Local girls were superior to local boys.

(d) School Subjects (Table 23)

On the whole, girls got better grades than boys; mobile girls were the best achievers. The statistically significant results can be summarized as follows:

(1) In reading, English, spelling, and handwriting, mobile girls were superior to mobile boys. In reading and English mobile girls were superior to every other category of pupils, that is, to mobile, local and "other federally-connected" boys as well as to local and "other federally-connected" girls.

(2) In reading, English, spelling, arithmetic, and social studies, mobile boys got better grades than local boys. In reading, English, and arithmetic, mobile boys were also superior to "other federally-connected" boys.

(3) In reading, English, handwriting, arithmetic, and social studies, local girls got better grades than local boys. In handwriting, "other federally-connected" girls were superior to "other federally-connected" boys.

Note: Concerning the 1964-65 sample, we have already dealt with achievement by both mobility status and sex; hence, sub-sections 2 and 3 hereunder are mere elaborations. These two sections deal separately with mobility status and sex.

2. Achievement by Mobility Status

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores, Fall & Spring -- Military Dependents, Other Federally-Connected Children, & Non-P.L. 874 Children

> Note: Regarding "II. Analysis by Aggregates of Pupils; 1964-65 Sample; Achievement by Mobility Status -- Overall Scores; & Achievement by Sex -- Overall Scores":
> No additional Tables are necessary. On the basis of Tables 18 & 19 -- which deal with "achievement by mobility status and sex" combined -- a T-statistic has been used for paired comparisons separately for mobility status and for sex. The results are reported in Section II-A-1-a, above.

(b) Sub-tests (Tables 24 & 25)

Military dependents were better achievers than both other federally-connected children and non-P.L. 874 children. Other federally-connected children tended to be similar to non-P.L. 874 local ones in their achievement; there were no significant differences between them.

Fall, 1964-65: Military dependents were superior to local children in word meaning, paragraph meaning & language.

Spring, 1964-65: Military dependents were better than the local pupils in paragraph meaning, spelling, language, arithmetic computation, and arithmetic application.

Comparison of Fall & Spring sub-tests: On Spring sub-tests, there is a consistent gain in achievement for all pupil groups.

(c) G.P.A. (Table 26)

Military dependents: 290. Other Fed.-Conn.: 46. Local Pupils: 469. Total: 805.

Military dependents have a significantly higher grade-point average than other federally-connected and local pupils. The over-all achievement of military dependents as measured by teachers' grades is superior to that of the two other pupil groups.

(d) School Subjects (Table 27)

Military dependents' average grades in all school subjects, except handwriting -- that is in reading, English, spelling, arithmetic, social studies, and science -- are superior to those of the two other pupil groups. Moreover, local children and other federally-connected ones are quite similar in their performance: In most subjects, there is no statistically-significant difference between the performance of other federally-connected children and that of local pupils.

Comment: Two notions advanced to us by school people seem to have been verified: (a) That other federally-connected pupils are mostly local pupils who have grown up in the same community as the regular local children. The only difference between the two types of pupils is that the parents of the former happen to work for the Federal Government and thus the children are included under P.L. 874. Moreover, the grades these children get in school are very similar to those of local pupils. In other words, teachers tend to see other federally-connected children as being like all the other civilian children they have; they consider them a sub-variety of local children and act on such consideration when it comes to grades. (b) That military dependents, because of travel and the rich experience they have had are superior to local children especially in social studies. This is true with regard to grades military dependents get but may not be true with regard to test scores. We would like to emphasize the well-known sociological notion that the practitioner's definition of the client is a self-fulfilling prophecy, that people behave towards others according to the way they define others. Cf. the "Late Bloomingness" test of Robert Rosenthal and the improved attitudes of the California teachers towards their "average" pupils.[27] Grades are rewards and are part of the symbolic system that binds the teachers and the taught.

3. Achievement by Sex.

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores (Tables 18 & 19).

No separate Tables. See "note" under II-A-2-a for results.

(b) Sub-tests (Tables 28 & 29).

The statistically significant differences were as follows:

Fall, 1964: Boys achieved better than girls in arithmetic concepts, but girls achieved better than boys in spelling, language, and arithmetic computation.

Spring, 1965: Girls were better achievers than boys in paragraph meaning, spelling, language, and arithmetic computation.

The scores of both boys and girls were higher in the Spring than in the Fall testing.

Comment: 1. In the 1964-65 sample, girls seem to be generally better achievers than boys. Their scores on the Stanford sub-tests are higher. 2. There always seems to be a gain in achievement by the end of the year -- for each sample, the Spring scores on the Stanford (Form "X") always seem to be higher than the Fall scores (Form "W").

(c) G.P.A. (Table 30).

Boys: 414. Girls: 392. Total: 806.

The girls in our 1964-65 sample have significantly better grade-point averages than the boys.

(d) School Subjects (Table 31).

In reading, English, spelling, handwriting, arithmetic, social studies, and science, girls have consistently better grades than boys. This finding reflects the G.P.A. one without exception.

Comment: Wickman, Coleman, and Ullman, among others,[28] have emphasized that school teachers tend to like girls better than boys, that what teachers regard as acceptable classroom behavior is based on girls', not boys' behavior. If this is so, and if grades are thought of as a reflection of acceptability, then this notion seems to be partly verified in our data. As some Superintendents indicated to us when we presented this finding to them, most of the teachers in our sample are female -- they tend to prize compliance and docility, and thus give girls better grades! But we shall look for exceptions and for other data to test this notion.

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

1. IQ by Mobility Status & Sex, Lorge-Thorndike Test (Table 32).

Only pupils who had IQ and Fall & Spring achievement scores -- complete data that are relevant for covariance comparisons -- are included. Mobile Boys: 119. Mobile Girls: 123. Local Boys: 212. Local Girls: 209. Total: 663.

The average IQ of local pupils is significantly higher than that of mobile ones. This is true in general as well as with regard to boys and girls within each of the mobile and local sub-groups. Local boys have the highest average IQ; mobile boys, the lowest. Within each of the mobile and local sub-groups, however, boys did not differ much from girls. This finding is similar to that of #I-B-1, above, where classes composed predominantly of local children were found to have the highest IQ average.

2. Achievement by Mobility Status & Sex -- unadjusted for IQ (Table 32).

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores (Tables 33 and 34).

Mobile Boys: 136. Mobile Girls: 132. Local Boys: 218. Local Girls: 214. Total: 700.

The Fall & Spring results were similar. Local boys had a significantly higher overall score than mobile boys. Likewise, local girls had a higher mean score than mobile girls.

(b) Sub-tests -- unadjusted for IQ (Tables 35 & 36).

The Fall & Spring results were similar. Local pupils tended to have better scores than mobile ones, especially in language, arithmetic computation, and arithmetic concepts. Boys did better than girls in arithmetic application, social studies, and science; in spelling, girls did better than boys. In word meaning, local girls did better than local boys in the Fall, but this result was reversed in the Spring. In language, local girls were better than local boys. In arithmetic application, and science, local girls tended to achieve better than mobile ones.

Comparison of Fall & Spring sub-tests: On Spring sub-tests, there is a consistent gain in achievement for all pupil groups.

(c) G.P.A. Unadjusted for IQ (Table 37)

Note: (1) Table 37 has the figures for both analysis of variance and covariance. The first four columns are relevant to "achievement unadjusted for IQ"; the Table in its entirity, for "achievement adjusted for IQ." For the former, the F-ratio is 8.47; P is less than 0.01. For the latter, the F-ratio is 17.96; P is less than 0.01.

(2) The F-ratio does not say that the means are all significantly different from one another. What

the F-ratio says is that means are not the same, i.e., that there is a difference between some means. To find out such difference, we employ paired comparisons -- T-test. (3) The F-ratio for "achievement unadjusted for IQ" (first 4 columns of Table 37) indicates that mobile girls are the highest achievers in the sample; local boys, the lowest. In this instance we would not know whether what is influencing the G.P.A. scores is sex, or mobility. To find that out, we control for the IQ (Table 37 in its entirity). The results, regarding G.P.A. adjusted for IQ, are: Sex, not mobility, is the decisive factor.

The statistically significant results for comparison of unadjusted means are the following: Girls get better grades than boys. Mobile girls get better grades than mobile boys; local girls get better grades than local boys. Mobile girls have the highest grades.

(d) School Subjects, Unadjusted for IQ (Table 38)

Significant differences between boys and girls were found in all subjects except arithmetic, social studies, and science. Again, mobile girls were better than mobile boys; local girls, than local boys.

It should be noted that no significant difference was found between mobile and local pupils in any of the school subjects nor in the G.P.A.

3. Achievement by Mobility & Sex -- Adjusted for IQ (Tables 39 & 40).

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores -- Adjusted for IQ (Tables 39 & 40).

The Fall & Spring results were similar and were not statistically significant. This means that mobility status, when IQ was controlled, did not make a difference: the achievement of military dependents was comparable to that of local pupils; of boys, the same as that of girls. This result is similar to #I-B-3-a (Tables 10 & 11), above, where three groups of classrooms with different mobile and local pupil-composition were not significantly different with regard to their adjusted means. Thus when we take classroom-groups or aggregates of pupils as units in our analysis of achievement test scores, and when we control the influence of the IQ on achievement, we find that mobility and locality do not make any difference in achievement, that military dependents and local pupils are very similar in this regard.

(b) Sub-tests Adjusted for IQ.

Since analysis of overall scores, adjusted for IQ, was not significant, no analysis for sub-tests was done.

(c) G.P.A., Adjusted for IQ (Table 37)

The G.P.A.'s of the four pupil groups (mobile boys, mobile girls, local boys, & local girls) are significantly different -- mobile girls have the highest G.P.A.; local boys the lowest. When IQ is held constant, is it mobility status or sex that makes a difference? To answer this question, we compare pairs of pupil groups. When the G.P.A. of mobile pupils is compared with that of local ones, we find that there is no statistically significant difference between them, which is to say that collectively mobile pupils and local ones are very similar in their grade-point averages, that there is no difference between them that can be attributed to mobility status. However, mobile boys are found to have a significantly higher grade-point average than local boys; mobile girls, than local girls. On the other hand, girls as a group have a much higher grade-point average than boys. Also, within each mobility category, there are significant differences: mobile girls have better grades than mobile boys; local girls, than local boys. Hence, the essential conclusion that can be drawn from this comparison is that it is sex, not mobility status, that is significantly associated with teachers' grades, that whether a child is a military dependent or a local pupil does not make a difference, but whether the pupil is a boy or a girl does. In this sample, teachers seem to give better grades to girls.

(d) School Subjects, Adjusted for IQ (Table 41)

Girls did consistently much better than boys on all subjects -- a reflection of the aforementioned G.P.A. analysis. However, the only subjects that were associated with significant differences between the four pupil groups were: reading, English, spelling, handwriting, and social studies.

In reading, mobile boys showed a significant superiority over local boys; mobile girls, over local girls. Thus mobile pupils did much better in reading than local ones. In English and handwriting, the only indication of the superiority of mobile pupils over local ones occurred in the case of boys: mobile boys did significantly much better than local ones, but mobile girls were not significantly different from local ones. In spelling, the comparison of girls proved to be significant: mobile girls did much better than local ones; mobile and local boys were not too different. In social studies, it was mobile girls who did significantly much better than local boys, whereas mobile boys and local girls did exactly the same.

III. MOBILITY BY CITIES: GENERAL ANALYSIS

Note: This is an overall analysis without regard to whether a child is a military dependent, other federally-connected, or non-P.L. 874 pupil.

So far, we have based our analysis of achievement on classroom groups and on individual pupils. We have tried to determine whether the mobile or local composition of the classroom, the mobile or local designation of the pupil, and the sex of the pupil were significantly associated with achievement, i.e., whether any of these factors made any difference. In exploring their influence, we held the IQ constant. In addition, we examined achievement as measured by a standardized test (the Stanford) and as measured by teachers' grades. We did this for both samples and focused our attention on overall scores and grade-point averages as well as with regard to various sub-tests and school subjects. Wherever we had two measures of achievement, e.g., for the Fall and Spring, we tried to determine whether there was any gain or loss in achievement by the end of the school year.

Now we turn our attention to what we call "mobility by cities." Is the achievement of pupils influenced by the number of cities in which they attended school? Do, for example, pupils who attended school in three different cities, counting this attendance from kindergarten through the sixth grade, differ in achievement from pupils who attended school in six-or-more different cities? To answer such questions, we will first look at all pupils in relation to different numbers of cities in which they attended school, then we will focus our attention on the two general categories of pupils we have -- mobile and local -- with regard to number of cities.

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Achievement by No. of Cities regardless of Mobility Status

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Overall Scores, Fall & Spring 1964-65 (Tables 42 & 43)

No significant differences. The number of cities in which pupils attended school had no bearing on their achievement.

(b) Sub-tests by No. of Cities, Fall & Spring 1964-65 (Tables 44 & 45)

The Fall results are not statistically significant.

In the Spring testing, there is only one statistically significant result: In paragraph meaning, pupils who attended school in 3 cities, had the highest mean score. This is a chance finding that does not alter the overall picture.

(c) G.P.A. by No. of Cities (Table 46)

No significant differences.

(d) School Subjects by No. of Cities (Table 47)

There were no significant differences except with regard to reading, English, and science (out of seven school subjects). In reading and science, pupils who attended school in 3 cities did better than pupils who attended school in 1 or 2 cities. In English, pupils who attended school in 3 cities had better grades than pupils who attended school in 1 or 6 cities. Perhaps the group of pupils who attended school in 3 cities might have had a higher IQ average than pupils who attended school in 1, 2, or 6 cities! Since no IQ test was given to the 1964-65 sample, we have no way of verifying this notion -- we shall test it, however, with reference to the 1965-66 sample. More importantly, since the overall G.P.A. analysis was not statistically significant, we would consider these scattered findings mere chance ones and that, in this sample, the number of cities in which school was attended had no connection with the grades pupils got.

What is the overall result of the analysis of total scores, sub-tests, G.P.A., and school subjects? Regarding these 4 areas of analysis, the mean scores and average grades of the various groups of pupils who attended school in 1,2,3,4,5 or 6 or more different cities were not at all significantly different. It can thus be concluded that the achievement of pupils in our 1964-65 sample, as measured by the Stanford Achievement Test and by teachers' grades, was not in any way associated with the number of moves from city to city that a child may have made. Characteristically, pupils who attended school in only one city and pupils who did so in 6 or more cities had about the same average achievement. It should be pointed out that this analysis is without regard to whether a child is a military dependent or a local pupil, a boy or a girl. It is an overall analysis of all pupils in the 1964-65 sample and only on the basis of number of cities in which they attended school.

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

1. Average IQ in relation to No. of Cities in Which Pupils Attended School -- The Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test (Table 48)

Pupils who attended school from kindergarten through the sixth-grade only in one city had the highest IQ average; those who attended school in 4 different cities had the lowest average -- even lower than that of children who attended school in 6 or more cities. The former are mostly non-P.L. 874 local pupils; both in our analysis of classroom groups and of individual pupils we had discovered that non-P.L. 874 children had a higher average IQ than others. Hence, it may be that pupils who attended school only in one city happen to represent the top scores of the non-P.L. 874 children; those who attended school in 4 different cities, the bottom scores of military dependents. See # I-B-1 & #II-B-1 (Tables 7 & 32), above.

2. Achievement by No. of Cities, Unadjusted for IQ

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores-- Unadjusted for IQ (Tables 49 & 50).

No significant differences. The number of cities in which school was attended had no relevance to achievement.

(b) Sub-tests, Unadjusted for IQ, Fall & Spring (Tables 51 & 52)

The mean score of pupils who had attended school in only one city were the highest; of pupils who attended school in four cities, the lowest. It can be said that there was no real difference between the scores of pupils who had attended school only in one city and of those who had attended school in 6 or more cities. In general, the difference was between pupils who attended school in one city and those who attended school in four cities. This difference was in spelling, language, and arithmetic concepts for both Fall & Spring. With regard to all sub-tests, statistically significant differences were as follows:

Fall, 1965-66: Spelling, language, arithmetic computation, arithmetic concepts, & arithmetic application.

Spring, 1965-66: Word meaning, paragraph meaning, spelling, language & arithmetic concepts.

The Spring scores were consistently higher than the Fall ones -- a gain in achievement for all pupils.

(c) G.P.A., Unadjusted for IQ (Table 53)

No significant differences. There was no association between the number of cities in which pupils attended school and their grade-point average.

(d) School Subjects, Unadjusted for IQ (Table 54)

No significant differences. This result reflects the aforementioned G.P.A. one. There was no association between the number of cities in which pupils attended school and the grades they got in various school subjects.

3. Achievement by No. of Cities, Adjusted for IQ

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Overall Scores with IQ Statistically Controlled, Fall & Spring 1965-66 (Tables 55 & 56)

No significant differences. The number of cities in which school was attended had no significant effect on the average achievement of pupils.

(b) Sub-tests, Adjusted for IQ

Not statistically significant. Tables are not included.

(c) G.P.A., Adjusted for IQ (Table 53)

Do pupils who have attended school in more cities get, on the whole, better grades? We have analyzed teachers' grades with pupil IQ statistically controlled so that the influence of school attendance in an increasing number of cities may be examined.

When the IQ is statistically controlled, we find that there is an improvement in grade-point average that is associated with an increase in the number of cities in which pupils attended school -- the larger the number of cities, the higher the grade-point average. Pupils who have attended school in more cities are mostly military dependents; we have already discovered that whereas their overall test scores tend to be lower than those of non-P.L. 874 local pupils, they tend to get much better grades than the latter! Whereas we earlier took into account mobile pupils (and mobile classes) regardless of the number of cities through which they had moved and compared them with local pupils, we have now pinned down mobility in relation to the number of cities. It seems that mobile pupils as a group not only get better grades than local ones, but that the more mobile the pupil the higher the overall grade he gets from the teacher!

Comment: We can only speculate about the aforementioned phenomenon and say that perhaps teachers of mobile pupils are themselves mobile persons and hence well-disposed to their mobile charges, or that the mobile pupils themselves, because they have, through prolonged travel, been exposed to various environments and people, have become socially adept at presenting themselves to teachers and other adults, and the more travel -- as the aforementioned finding indicates -- the merrier the grades! If this speculation is in any way true, then we would expect it to be borne out by the data on pupil and teacher interviews, self-concept, teachers' comments in the school cumulative records, and classroom sociograms. Perhaps those data would indicate something about the capacity of highly-mobile children to "sell" themselves to others, to make friends, and to show "leadership" qualities -- in short, to command respect and to communicate a sense of presentability and presence. Perhaps their travel has enlarged their awareness and trained them to impress others favorably -- a point mentioned in some of the teachers' interviews and relevant not only to mobile girls, who seem to get the better grades, but to mobile boys as well.

(d) School Subjects -- Adjusted for IQ (Table 57)

The aforementioned G.P.A. result was not totally reflected in the analysis of school subjects. Significant association between the number of cities in which pupils attended school and the grades they got from their teachers was manifested only in reading, English, and social studies. In reading, pupils who had gone to school only in one city got lower grades than pupils who attended school in 2,3,4,5 or 6 or more cities. In English, pupils who had attended school in 1,2, or 3 cities got lower grades than pupils who had attended school in 4 or more cities. In social studies, pupils who had attended school in 4 or 5 cities had better grades than pupils who had attended school in 1 or 2 cities.

IV. MOBILITY BY CITIES: MILITARY DEPENDENTS, OTHER FEDERALLY-CONNECTED, & NON-P.L. 874 PUPILS

So far, we have used "mobile" as a synonym for military dependents; "local," as one for pupils not included under P.L. 874. This usage is correct in the sense that the great majority of military dependents are mobile pupils *par excellence*; the great majority of regular, non-P.L. 874 pupils "local" ones. Military dependents are but one variety of children on the move; in federally-impacted school districts, they are the primary representatives of "mobility." However, we have discovered two interesting, though numerically scanty, sub-varieties in our sample: Military dependents who have attended school only in one city, and civilian (non-P.L. 874) pupils who have attended school in several cities. We can call the first sub-variety the "local mobiles"; the second, the "mobile locals"! In addition, we have discovered that the "other federally-connected pupils," those who come under P.L. 874 and are not military dependents, can for all practical purposes be considered "local" pupils.

It can be said that "mobile" pupils are truly mobile and "local" pupils are not quite local! Does the sheer number of cities in which military dependents and civilian pupils attended school have any bearing on their IQ or achievement? Is the number of moves from city to city -- kindergarten through the sixth-grade -- in any way associated with a certain IQ or achievement average?

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Achievement by No. of Cities & Mobility Status of Pupils
    - (a) Stanford Achievement Tests, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores, Fall & Spring -- Military Dependents, Other Federally-Connected Children & Non-P.L. 874 Children:
    - (b) Sub-tests:
    - (c) G.P.A.
    - (d) School Subjects

Note: No IQ test had been given to the 1964-65 sample. A preliminary analysis of the relevant achievement data showed us that very few results were statistically significant. Since for the 1964-65 sample we would not statistically be able to eliminate differences in achievement due to the IQ and thus find out whether the number of cities in which school was attended did actually make a difference, we decided to concentrate on the 1965-66 sample instead.

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

1. IQ in relation to No. of Cities in Which Military Dependents, Other Federally-Connected, & Non-P.L. 874 Pupils Attended School -- Lorge - Thorndike Test (Table 58)

Only pupils who had both IQ scores & achievement scores are included. Number of military dependents who attended school in 1-2 cities: 50; in 3 cities: 75; & in 4 or more cities: 117. Number of civilian pupils (non-P.L. 874 & other federally connected children combined) who attended school in 1-2 cities: 355; in 3 cities: 47; & in 4 or more cities: 19. Total: 663.

Within the group of P.L. 874 military dependents and within that of civilian children, differences in the number of cities in which school was attended made no difference. That is to say that the IQ averages were not significantly influenced by the mere number of cities in which pupils attended school, by the number of moves they made. The difference that was significant was that between military dependents and civilian pupils as a whole. This intergroup difference was previously pointed out in the analysis of classroom groups (Table 7): pupils in classes composed predominantly of local children had the highest IQ average. The present analysis extends this finding to the number-of-cities factor and shows that in the 1965-66 sample, the lower the number of cities in which schooling took place, when military dependents & civilian children are compared, the higher the IQ average.

2. Achievement in relation to No. of Cities in Which School Was Attended, Unadjusted for IQ.

   (a) Stanford Achievement Test, Overall Scores, Unadjusted for IQ, Fall & Spring 1965-66 (Tables 59 & 60--Variance)

Note: These two Tables report both achievement unadjusted for IQ and achievement adjusted for IQ. The first 4 columns of each Table deal with the former (analysis of variance); the Table as a whole, with the latter (covariance).

Regarding achievement unadjusted for IQ, the Fall & Spring results are similar: There are no significant differences.

(b) Sub-tests in relation to No. of Cities, Unadjusted for IQ

Analysis was not done -- as reported in the preceding sub-section, the overall results were not significant.

(c) G.P.A. in relation to No. of Cities, Unadjusted for IQ (Table 61)

No significant differences.

(d) School Subjects in relation to No. of Cities, Unadjusted for IQ

Analysis was not done. The G.P.A. results were not statistically significant.

3. Achievement by No. of Cities in Which School was Attended & by Mobility Status of Pupils, Adjusted for IQ

If we control the influence of IQ on achievement, would we find that achievement is in any way influenced by the number of moves that military dependents and civilian pupils had made (the number of cities in which they had attended school)?

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Total Scores -- Adjusted for IQ, Fall & Spring 1965-66 (Tables 59 & 60, variance and covariance)

The Spring 1965-66 results were not statistically significant, only the Fall ones were. When the IQ is statistically controlled, we find the following statistically significant intra-group and inter-group differences:

(1) Military dependents who have attended school in four or more cities have a better achievement than military dependents who have attended school in only one or two different cities. That is to say, military dependents who have moved 4 or more times during their schooling careers are better achievers than those who stayed in one place or made only two moves.

(2) The achievement of civilian pupils (non-P.L. 874 & other federally connected) who attended school in one or two cities is relatively better than that of military dependents in the same category of mobility.

(3) Civilian pupils who have attended school in four or more cities are better achievers than military dependents in the same mobility category.

(4) One overall conclusion seems to be evident: attending school in four or more different cities seems to make a difference, important but apparently inexplicable, in the case of military dependents in this sample. It is a crucial mobility level.

(b) Sub-tests by No. of Cities & Mobility Status, Adjusted for IQ.

Not done. For overall results, see preceding subsection.

(c) G.P.A. by No. of Cities & Mobility Status, Adjusted for IQ (Table 61).

No significant differences.

(d) School Subjects by No. of Cities & Mobility Status, Adjusted for IQ

Not done -- the G.P.A. results were not significant.

V. MOBILITY BY SCHOOLS: GENERAL ANALYSIS

Note: This is an overall analysis without regard to the mobility status of pupils.

We have, so far, used a simple measure of mobility: the number of different cities in which a child attended school from kindergarten through the sixth-grade. But some children may have attended a number of schools in the same city. Hence, we have thought of measuring the number of moves a child makes on the basis of schools attended rather than cities in which his schooling took place. This way we could perhaps especially refine our designation of "locality" more so than "mobility" -- and consider those pupils who "grew up" in one school, so to speak, as being the strictly local ones.

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Achievement by No. of Schools Attended

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Total Scores, Fall & Spring, 1964-65, (Tables 62 & 63).

No statistically significant differences.

(b) Sub-tests (Tables 64 & 65)

The Fall & Spring results are similar in that children who attended only one school tended, especially in arithmetic computation and arithmetic concepts, to have higher average scores than children who attended 2,3,4,5, or 6 schools.

(c) G.P.A. by No. of Schools (Table 66).

Pupils who, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, attended only one school -- i.e., the strictly local pupils -- had the highest grade-point average. Their overall grades were much better than the rest of the pupils in our 1964-65 sample. Apart from this finding, there is actually very little difference between the means of other groups of pupils.

In his exploratory study of the relation between mobility and achievement, Weatherman distinguished between sixth-graders who had attended only one school (called "stationary" pupils in his study) and those who had attended three or more (called "mobile").[29] His overall conclusion is that mobility adversely influences the achievement of boys rather than girls, and only in some -- not all -- school subjects. For example, on the basis of the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress, Weatherman discovered that sixth-grade mobile boys scored significantly lower than others in reading, writing, social studies, and mathematics. He also discovered that in science, mobile pupils -- both boys and girls -- tended to score lower than stationary ones. The value of Weatherman's study for us is that it is one of very few educational studies dealing specifically with mobility and with sixth-graders, that -- together with other studies in this area -- it seems to indicate that whether on the basis of teachers' grades or standardized test scores, girls tend to be better achievers than boys even in the face of mobility! In other words, it can be said tentatively that quite often sex, not mobility, seems to be the decisive factor. (For a similar conclusion of ours, see sections II-A-3-c&d and II-B-3-a&c.)

(d) School Subjects (Table 67)

The aforementioned G.P.A. result is reflected in all school subjects: Pupils who from kindergarten through the sixth-grade attended only one school have consistently better grades in all subjects. In other words, the achievement of the strictly local pupils, as measured by teachers' grades, is much better than that of pupils who have moved from school to school. As to other pupils who attended 2 to 6 schools or more, there seems to be no consistent pattern concerning differences in their achievement.

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

1. IQ in relation to No. of Schools Attended, Lorge-Thorndike Test (Table 68)

Pupils who, from kindergarten through the sixth grade, had their whole schooling career only in one school -- that is, attended only one school -- had the highest IQ average. These are predominantly non-P.L. 874 or local children, with a sprinkling of P.L. 874 "other federally-connected" children who, for all practical purposes, are local. This finding is in accord with that of Table 58 and Table 7. It should be added that in this analysis, there is no statistically significant difference between the average IQ of pupils who, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, attended only one school and those who attended two or three schools. The difference is between attendance of one school vs. 4,5,6 or more schools -- a difference between mobile and local pupils. (See Table M-2).

2. Achievement in relation to No. of Schools, Unadjusted for IQ

   (a) Stanford Achievement Test, Overall Scores, Unadjusted for IQ, Fall & Spring (Tables 69 & 70)

   No significant differences. The number of schools attended has no bearing on achievement.

   (b) Sub-tests, Unadjusted for IQ, Fall & Spring (Tables 71 & 72)

   There are a few statistically significant results. For an overall picture, they can be summarized as follows:

   (1) Fall & Spring: In language and arithmetic application, pupils who attended only 1 school got better scores than those who attended 5 or more schools. In these two subjects, pupils who had attended 3 schools had better scores than those who had attended 5 schools.

   (2) Fall only: In language and arithmetic concepts, pupils who had attended 1, 2, or 3 schools had better scores than those who had attended 5 or more schools.

(c) G.P.A. Unadjusted for IQ (Table 73)

No statistically significant differences.

(d) School Subjects, Unadjusted for IQ (Table 74)

The only statistically significant result pertains to reading: Pupils who attended only one school got the lowest grades.

3. Achievement in relation to No. of Schools, Adjusted for IQ

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Overall Scores, Adjusted for IQ Fall & Spring (Tables 69 & 70)

No significant differences.

(b) Sub-Tests, Adjusted for IQ, Fall & Spring (Tables 75 & 76)

Fall: No significant differences.

Spring: The only significant differences are in social studies -- pupils who attended six or more schools had higher scores than pupils who attended 1 or 2 schools. This isolated finding, based on standardized tests, rather than grades, seems to lend credence to teachers' assumptions that military dependents, because of travel and knowledge of various places, do better in social studies than local pupils. Pupils who attended 6 or more schools are almost exclusively P.L. 874 military dependents.

(c) G.P.A., Adjusted for IQ (Table 73)

On the whole, the grade-point average of pupils who attended only 1 school -- i.e., the predominantly non-P.L. 874 local pupils -- was much, much lower than that for every other category of pupils.

(d) School Subjects, Adjusted for IQ (Table 77)

In reading, English, spelling, and handwriting, pupils who attended only one school had considerably lower grades than the rest of pupils. In these same subjects, the next most inferior grades were those of pupils who attended 2 schools.

VI. MOBILITY BY SCHOOLS: MILITARY DEPENDENTS, OTHER FEDERALLY CONNECTED, & NON-P.L. 874 PUPILS

Analysis was not done. "Mobility by schools" is very similar to "mobility by cities." See Section IV.

VII. AGE & ACHIEVEMENT: GENERAL ANALYSIS

So far, we have tried to determine the influence of various factors on achievement -- IQ, mobility by cities, mobility by schools, and so forth. Now we turn to another consideration: Is the pupil's age in any way associated with his achievement? Does age, statistically speaking, influence achievement?

We have divided the pupils into the following age-groups, calculating age by months and as of June 15 of the school year under consideration:

Age Group	Age in Months
(1)	0-137
(2)	138-142
(3)	143-147
(4)	148-152
(5)	153-157
(6)	158-162
(7)	163-200

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Achievement by Age

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Overall Scores, Fall & Spring

The overall trend is reflected in the sub-tests. See below.

(b) Sub-Tests (Tables 78 & 79)

With regard to overall scores and to sub-tests, age was discovered to be a significant factor in pupil achievement. The highest average score was obtained by pupils from 143-147 months old -- 11 years & 11 months to 12 years & 3 months. This age group seems to be ideal for sixth graders. In most sub-tests, though, the younger children did not differ too much from this ideal age group. It was apparent that the older the pupils were, the worse their scores got to be! These findings were true of both the Fall & Spring testings in 1964-65.

(c) G.P.A. (Table 80)

The analysis of variance points to an outstanding performance on the part of pupils in group 3, i.e., pupils in the age-group of 143-147 months. The average grade of group 2 was not significantly different from that of group 3. Thus, pupils who range in age from 138 to 147 months obtained higher grades than the older pupils. There is an observed downward trend in grades: Increase in age is associated with lower grades. It is interesting to observe that this trend appears both with regard to achievement as measured by the Stanford Test and as measured by teachers' grades.

(d) School Subjects (Table 81)

The result of this analysis is essentially an elaboration of the G.P.A. one: Pupils in the age-group 143-147 months have consistently better grades in all school subjects than pupils in other age groups. The second best age group is that of pupils who are 138-142 months old. With the exception of the youngest age group (up to 137 months), the older the pupil is, the worse are his grades.

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

1. Age & IQ (Table 82)

Pupil IQ is strongly influenced by age. On the whole, the younger the sixth-grade pupil, the higher his IQ, and vice versa.

2. Age & Achievement, Unadjusted for IQ

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores, Unadjusted for IQ, Fall & Spring, 1965-66 (Tables 83 & 84)

The Fall & Spring findings for the 1965-66 sample are similar and are in accord with those for the 1964-1965 sample. The highest average score was obtained by pupils who were 143-147 months old, an ideal age group for sixth graders. Pupils younger than this age-group did not differ very much from it, but pupils older did differ: the two oldest age-groups were the worst achievers! The general trend of these findings is that the younger the age of the sixth grader, the better his test scores; the older, the worse.

(b) Sub-Tests & Age of Pupils, Unadjusted for IQ

Tables are not reproduced. The trend for the sub-tests reflects that of the overall scores.

(c) G.P.A. & Age of Pupils, Unadjusted for IQ (Table 85)

Sixth-graders between the age of 11 years and 5 months and the age of 13 years and 1 month (first 5 age groups) are similar in their grade-point averages. In addition, these pupils get much better grades than older pupils. Again, the general trend is that the younger the pupil the better not only his test scores but his grades as well; the older, the worse on both accounts. Perhaps teachers are aware of age as a criterion for achievement and tend to reward sixth-graders who are around twelve-and-a-half years old with good grades; those older than that, with worse grades. In this instance, there is a rather unusual concordance between the results of test scores and teachers' grades! Teachers seem to be conscious of a typical as well as an ideal age for sixth-graders; indeed, the school itself, as a processing plant for "achievement" is organized on the basis of age-groups: pupils are admitted, retained, or annually promoted according to age.

(d) School Subjects, Unadjusted for IQ

The results of analysis by school subjects reflect the overall G.P.A. trend.

3. Age & Achievement, Adjusted for IQ

(a) Stanford Achievement Test, Forms "W" & "X", Overall Scores, Adjusted for IQ, Fall & Spring, 1965-66 (Tables 83 & 84.)

The Fall & Spring results are similar. With the IQ statistically controlled, most of the comparisons between age-groups were found to be significant. In pair comparisons, the differences which were not significant were between the following age-groups: 1 & 2, 1 & 3, 2 & 3, 5 & 6, 5 & 7, and 6 & 7. This means that with regard to pupils in these age groups, age -- when IQ was held constant -- did not have any bearing on achievement. Pupils in the first three age groups were found to be worse achievers than pupils in older age-groups. That is to say, the adjusted group means seem to indicate an improved performance with increase in age.

(b) Sub-Tests, Adjusted for IQ

No Tables. For general trends, see preceding sub-section.

(c) G.P.A. -- Adjusted for IQ (Table 85)

Some of the inter-group differences were found to be significant. For instance, the mean grade for age-group 3 was significantly higher than that of age-group 1. Also, the mean grade for age-group 3 was significantly lower than that of age-groups 4,5, etc. What this essentially means is that pupils in the fifth age-group, 153-157 months, had the highest grade-point average; pupils in the youngest age-group, the lowest. Also, that other age-groups tended to be similar in their average grade.

(d) School Subjects, Adjusted for IQ

The aforementioned G.P.A. findings would be reflected with regard to grades in most, if not all, subjects.

VII. AGE & ACHIEVEMENT: MILITARY DEPENDENTS, OTHER FEDERALLY CONNECTED, & NON-P.L. 874 PUPILS

The above heading implies a desirable, albeit an unnecessary, suggestion for analysis of further combinations and comparisons of achievement data. For our purposes, the essential analysis has already been done; hence no further statistical analysis will be pursued. For an overall look at IQ and achievement in relation to mobility, see previous sections.

POSTSCRIPT:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY & ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Studies of the relation between geographic mobility and academic achievement are few in number, inconclusive, and not easily comparable. That they are few is perhaps because educational literature tends to idealize small-town America and to view all pupils as if they were permanent members of the same local school house. In this literature with its pre-industrial ethos, geographic mobility -- although a widespread phenomenon in American life -- is, by and large, not an object of inquiry. That the few studies that are available are inconclusive and not easily comparable can be attributed to the following reasons:

(a) Various measures of mobility and achievement are used. For example, what is meant by "mobility" could be the distance of the move, its recency, or its frequency; what is meant by "achievement" could be the teachers' grades, or the Stanford, California, or Iowa test scores. Sometimes, test-results are reported not as raw or standardized scores -- which would make scores more easily comparable -- but in terms of grade placement, e.g., "5.3" meaning a sixth-grader achieving above the fifth but below the sixth grade. In some studies, both old and new editions of the same achievement test are used for sub-groups within the same sample.

(b) The IQ and social class are not statistically controlled.

(c) It is not stated what kind of mobile pupils are in the sample, e.g., military dependents or civilian, urban or rural.

We would like to report on some studies that have some bearing on ours:

1. Hand, C. R., "A Comparison of Permanent Pupils and Transient Military Pupils in Grades Four, Five, and Six in Relation to Mathematical Mastery," unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1967. Abstract, Mimeo., 1967, 5 pp.

   On the basis of the Otis Quick Scoring Mental Ability Test (Beta Form), the Stanford Achievement Test (Form "W") and a mathematical test devised by him, Hand's results are as follows:

   (a) There are no statistically significant differences between permanent pupils and transient military dependents in IQ, age, or mathematical mastery. (By "permanent" is meant both civilian and military pupils who attended only the Ayer, Mass. schools; by "transient", military dependents who attended Ayer as well as other schools.)

   (b) In mathematical mastery, officers' children were better achievers than children of enlisted personnel.

   (c) At the sixth-grade level and with regard to the arithmetic computation part of the Stanford Achievement Test and the author's own math test, there was a statistically significant difference between children of enlisted men who had attended 1 or 2 schools and those who had attended 3 or 4. The former were better achievers.

   (d) The overall conclusion is that mobility -- as measured by the number of schools attended -- seems to have little relationship to mathematical mastery -- i.e., computational skills, application and understanding of concepts -- in grades 4, 5, and 6.

Our results seem to contradict those of Hand's: In our study, a sixth-grade pupil who throughout his schooling career had attended only one school tended to have a higher IQ as well as higher scores in arithmetic concepts than one who had attended 4 or more schools (see section V).

2. Vaughn, Major Luther C., "A Study of the Fort Leonard Wood Schools", U. S. Army Training Center, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., 1966, Typescript, no pagination. (The study is divided into 5 tabs, 8 annexes, and 40 appendixes that constitute more than 250 pages.)

   Major Vaughn's study is quite a comprehensive one. It deals with such varied topics as criteria for good elementary and junior high schools, salaries of teachers and principals at the Fort Leonard Wood schools, and occupations of the school-board members. Thus academic achievement is only a small part of the study, and can be summarized as follows:

   (a) Military dependents in the Fort Leonard Wood schools (the Waynesville - Fort Leonard Wood school system) constitute 80% of the total enrollment. There are 7 schools in the district, of which 5 are elementary (Annex E, Appendix 1).

   (b) For sixth-graders in the 5 elementary schools, school counselors used an old edition of the Stanford Achievement Test at 2 schools, a new one at the other three (Annex B, Appendix 1). The specific form of the test used by counselors is not stated; presumably it is form "W". It is reported that the sixth-graders of one of the 5 elementary schools have a 6.5 median in grade equivalency, that is, they achieve above the sixth-grade level, but we do not know whether this median is based on the aforementioned old edition of the Stanford Achievement Test or the new one. Moreover, since Vaughn's results are reported in terms of grade placement equivalency -- e.g., "arithmetic reasoning" 5.3; science, 6.1, that is below and above the sixth-grade, respectively -- they are not easily comparable with those of other studies.

(c) Vaughn's overall achievement test results are: With regard to national norms, one of the elementary schools is above average, two average, and two below average (Tab C; Annex B, App. 1; and Annex C).

(d) Comparison of Fort Leonard Wood elementary school pupils with pupils who recently entered from other installations shows that Fort Leonard Wood pupils are better achievers (Tab C). However, Vaughn reports that on the basis of the Stanford Achievement Test, grades 2-8 in the Fort Leonard Wood schools show "deficiencies in basic skills taught," i.e., in reading, arithmetic, and spelling (Tab C & Annex G).

(e) With regard to sixth-grade pupils in the 5 elementary schools: In one school, their median grade equivalence in paragraph meaning, word meaning, spelling, language, arithmetic reasoning, arithmetic computation, social studies, science, and study skills is 6.5, i.e., above the sixth-grade level. In the four other schools, it is around 5.5, that is, below the sixth-grade level (Chart III-C in Annex B, App. 1).

(f) Vaughn reports achievement-test results for another heavily impacted school district, the Vernon Parish Public Schools, Leesville, Louisiana. The 1965-66 sixth-grade test results were: On the basis of the California Short-Form Test of Mental Maturity, the median IQ was 98.6; on the basis of the California Achievement-Test, Complete Battery, the median grade placement was "1.05 months retarded" (Letter from school superintendent, Vernon Parish Public Schools, dated 12/14/65, Enc. 3, with Tab A). However, since these results besides being based on different tests, are not reported separately for military dependents and civilian pupils, we cannot readily compare them with ours.

(g) The effect of geographic mobility on the academic achievement of military dependents is cogently expressed in the following excerpt from a letter included in the Vaughn study, a letter from an army man to his schoolboard:

> "We in the military have certain special requirements in educating our children, caused primarily by the frequent moving that the nature of our duties forces upon us. This often results in unusual problems for our children, for after each move they must adjust to a new teacher, new classmates, and a school which may not be using the same methods used in the previous school... A good example is the "new math" which is presently being taught by many schools. Some of our schools throughout the United States only teach this in certain grades, some teach a different version or textbook than others, and still others don't teach it at all. You can appreciate the problems in adjustment that the many variations in this one subject have created for our children in the military" (Letter dated 1/31/1966, Annex G, emphasis added).

As one geographically mobile sixth-grader in our study summed it up in an interview: "The school -- you get used to it, and then they change it."

3. Snipes, J. T., "The Relationship of Mobility to Achievement in Reading, Arithmetic, and Language in Selected Georgia Elementary Schools," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, Illinois, February 1965, Mimeo., 15 pp.[30]

Snipes's sample consists of 483 sixth-graders in 6 schools. For measuring achievement, he used the California Achievement Test, Complete Battery, Form "A"; for the IQ, he used the California Short-Form Test of Mental Maturity, Form "S"; and for social class, he used the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position (formal education and occupation of the father). Snipes's results can be summarized as follows:

(a) Achievement in arithmetic fundamentals seems to be related to the number of moves a pupil makes, this being equivalent to the number of schools attended. However, no clear pattern emerges out of the data (p. 8). For example, pupils who moved 6 times did significantly better than pupils who moved 3 or 5 times (p. 5). This is the reverse of our own conclusion (see section V) and seems also to contradict some of Hand's conclusions (see #"c" under Hand, above).

(b) Sex is significantly related to achievement. Girls, as a group, did much better than boys in reading vocabulary, reading comprehension, mechanics of English, and spelling. In arithmetic reasoning and arithmetic fundamentals, there were no significant differences between boys and girls (pp. 6 and 9). That girls tend to be better achievers than boys is in accord with our findings for both the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples.

(c) Mobile pupils who came to Georgia from other states tended to have the highest IQ's. Pupils who moved within the county in which the six schools in the sample are located or came from other parts of Georgia tended to have the lowest IQ's. Local pupils (non-movers) tended to fall in the middle range of IQ's (p. 6). In our study, pupils who, from Kindergarten through the sixth-grade, attended only one school, tended to have the highest IQ average (see section V, 1965-66 sample).

(d) Non-moving sixth-graders, i.e., those who attended only one school, tended to be younger than their mobile classmates. Age tended to increase as the number of moves increased (p. 9). An increase in the pupil's age or IQ was associated with better test scores in reading, arithmetic, and language (p. 6). In our study, the older the pupils were, the worse their achievement scores got to be, which was true of both the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples (see section VII)! Snipes's finding with regard to the IQ is, of course, quite true: the higher the pupil's IQ, the higher his achievement score tends to be.

(e) In Snipes's sample, out-of-state pupils tended to be of a higher social class (as measured by Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index) than the Georgia pupils. The higher the pupil's social class, the higher was the number of schools he had attended; the longer the distance he moved, the higher was his IQ (p. 9).

It can be contended that geographic mobility in Snipes's study is not the crucial factor but that IQ and social class are. A number of studies has shown that the degree of difference in intelligence in schools corresponds highly and positively to the socioeconomic level, that with few exceptions, the lower the level, the lower the IQ and vice-versa.[31] One would also be tempted to know how the local Georgia pupils fared against the newcomers, being lower in age, IQ, and social class, and the kind of social system that developed among the newcomers and oldtimers on the playground and in the classroom.

4. Bollenbacher, Joan, "A Study of the Effect of Mobility on Reading Achievement," The Reading Teacher, 15: 356-360, March 1962.

Bollenbacher's study deals with sixth-graders. For measuring their achievement, she used the Stanford Intermediate Reading and Arithmetic Tests; their IQ, the Lorge-Thorndike Verbal IQ Test.

Bollenbacher found out that sixth-graders who had, throughout their schooling, stayed in the same school had higher median scores in reading and arithmetic than sixth-graders who had moved more often. The former also had higher IQ's. This finding, based on the same IQ and achievement tests that we used in our study (the Lorge-Thorndike and Stanford) is similar to what we discovered with regard to the 1965-66 sample: permanent pupils had higher IQ's than mobile ones and higher scores in arithmetic and language (see section V). Unlike Bollenbacher, however, we did not find any statistically significant results between permanent and mobile sixth-graders with regard to reading as measured by the Stanford Test.

5. Downie, N. M., "Comparison between Children Who Have Moved from School with Those Who Have Been in Continuous Residence on Various Factors of Adjustment," Journal of Educational Psychology, 44:50-52, January, 1953.

Downie did not deal exclusively with sixth-graders but with 5th to 8th grade children. On the basis of the Otis Test of Mental Ability, Downie found out that there were no statistically significant differences in IQ scores between 5th to 8th grade children who had been in continuous residence at the same school and those that had attended several schools. We include this study in our review of the literature to illustrate the conflicting nature of findings in this area and the need for studies that deal with larger samples.

6. Miles, R. C., "A Study of the Achievement and School Adjustment of a Selected Group of Sixth-Grade Students in the Hartford Public Schools Who Had Varying Rates of Intracommunity Residential Changes", Ph.D. Dissertation in Education, University of Connecticut, 1962. Dissertation Abstracts, pp. 1558-1559.

Miles's study differs from other studies we have reviewed so far in that it is concerned exclusively with mobility *within* a given city rather than mobility between different cities, states, or counties. This study deals exclusively with sixth-graders; for measuring achievement and IQ, the tests used in this study are the Stanford Achievement Test, Intermediate Partial Battery, Form KM (the same achievement test used in our study but not the same form of the test) and the Otis

Quick-Scoring Ability Tests, Beta Test, Form EM (we used the Lorge-Thorndike).

Of the 1,019 sixth-graders in this study, 578 never changed their residence, 276 changed their residence once, 92 twice, and 73 three or more times. Hartford pupils who, between the first and sixth-grade, did not change their residence at all -- that is, lived at the same address in Hartford -- and those who changed theirs only once or twice were similar in their intelligence and achievement scores; there were no statistically significant differences between them. The significant difference was between sixth-graders who had changed their residence three or more times and those who had never changed theirs. In comparison with the non-mobile, these pupils had significantly lower IQ's and lower reading and language test scores; they were also older. The teachers of these mobile pupils thought that this group with three or more residential changes was more maladjusted than all other sixth graders, "maladjustment" being defined by the teacher as -- among other things -- lack of acceptance of adult authority, poor reaction to adults and schoolmates, and negative personality characteristics. It seems that the Hartford teachers were singularly opposed to this group: These children had significantly lower grades in reading, language arts, and arithmetic -- lower than non-mobile pupils as well as those of lesser mobility. In this case, teacher judgments were supportive of standardized test results and seem to be an extension of the teachers' "maladjustment" label for these pupils. Since Miles's study did not control for social class, one can assume perhaps that this high intra-city mobility group represented a lower socio-economic level than the two other groups in the sample. We do not know what variety of children these Hartford sixth-graders were, whether they were mostly Negro, White, or Puerto Rican; urban or rural; boys or girls.

7. Smith, M., "Some Relations between Intelligence and Geographic Mobility," American Sociological Review, 8,657-665, December, 1943.

This is an old study. We include it here because it deals with the relation between geographic mobility and intelligence. The study is focused on 851 students who were at the University of Kansas between 1937 and 1940. The purpose of the study was to determine whether there was any difference in IQ scores (a) between students born on farms and those born in towns or cities, and (b) between students who had remained in their community of birth until their admission to K.U. and those who had lived in different communities.

Of the 851 students, 362 had never moved from their birthplace until their entrance to the University; 312 had moved once or twice; 124, three or four times; 31, five or six times; and 22, seven or more. The IQ's of these students were determined on the basis of the American Council on Education Test. The main findings of this study were: (a) the average IQ of students born in cities significantly surpassed that of rural-born ones; and (b) non-mobile students had lower IQ's than mobile ones.

Smith speculates on whether the IQ test performance changes with geographic mobility and hints at the relation between migration and intellectual status (p. 665). His comments on his findings are worth quoting; they are a sort of an "ode to mobility":

> "... Mobility increases knowledge, stimulates curiosity, tends to develop speed of response, encourages imagination, and develops mental flexibility, all of which qualities help to improve intelligence test performance. Mobility requires new social contacts and relationships and the accompanying experiences also may influence performance on tests. It is true that change of place of residence also results in a breakdown of at least part of the original associations, and this may constitute a general handicap; but such losses may be less of an intellectual than of a social or emotional character. This would be particularly likely, if the relationships broken were those with the least stimulating, immobile persons in the former community" (p. 664).

On the positive side, mobility may bring with it emancipation from old ties and constricting social relationships, the "ultimate inalienable right of every child: a good and sound reason for running away from home."[32] As a highly-mobile sixth-grader in our study, one that was achieving well in school, enthusiastically remarked in an interview: "'Changing schools?' I love it! You get rid of your enemies and you make new friends." However, on the negative side, mobility may result in rootlessness, a feeling of _anomie_ (lostness and lack of guidelines to sustain identity) and a superficialization of relationships. Sociology, in its broadest dimensions and as an Americanized European intellectual product, continues to deal with the legacy of the French Revolution and that of the Industrial Revolution -- with issues of individualism and alienation. These issues are but two sides of the same coin, the coin of freedom to become plus a yearning to be, the quest for community and its emotional security vs. the joys of self-reliance in a contractual society. We are indirectly bringing in the work of Toennies and Durkheim -- Gemeinschaft vs. Gesellschaft, mechanical vs. organic cohesion -- and of Cooley and Redfield -- importance of the primary groups and sense of kinship -- to highlight a basic American phenomenon, geographic mobility, and making this phenomenon unlock for us the basic concerns of sociology and, hence, of education. This, in a sense, is what our study is all about; for it seems to us that mobility, in its largest configuration, is but at the center of the strain between modern man's quest for community and his survival in mass society.

But to get back from these macro-sociological highlights to the softer shades of micro-sociology, we now continue with our review of the literature on mobility and academic achievement, linking them with the self-concept and sociometric status in such studies that are available, and commenting on the larger implication of these and other studies when the context warrants it.

8. Tout, J. R., "Relationship between Pupil Mobility and Achievement, Measured Intelligence, and Sociometric Status," unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers. 1962. Dissertation Abstracts, p. 3699.

Tout's sample consists of the total pupil population of the 4th, 5th and 6th grades of a suburban school system in the St. Louis, Missouri area. The pupils were classified into permanent (six years at the same school), semi-mobile (two or more years at the same school), and mobile (less than two years).

At the sixth-grade level, the intelligence scores of permanent pupils were significantly higher than those of semi-mobile and mobile pupils. Also, at the sixth-grade level the permanent pupils' achievement was much better than either the semi-mobile or mobile pupils. With regard to both the IQ and achievement scores, there were no significant differences for grades four and five.

With regard to all pupils in the sample, there were no significant differences between permanent, semi-mobile, and mobile pupils in the proportion of stars and isolates derived from sociograms. However, when the semi-mobile group was divided into two sub-groups -- those who had been in their present building two or more years vs. up to two years -- it was discovered that there was a significantly higher proportion of stars selected by their classmates "to work with" in the first than the second sub-group.

Tout also analyzed the occupations of the pupils' fathers as a rough measure of social class but found no significant difference between permanent, semi-mobile, and mobile pupils. Tout's findings may be unique to one suburban school system and are, at best, only suggestive.

Later on, we shall discuss mobility in relation to sociometric status and the self-concept. Since this chapter has been on achievement, we would like to conclude it with studies that relate achievement to sociometry and the self-concept even without mobility.

9. Lund, Grace Adeline, "Playmate Status Relative to Physical, Academic, and Social Factors," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Education, University of Wisconsin, 1959. Dissertation Abstracts, pp. 3214-3215.

The overall conclusion of this study is that in middle childhood, the choice of a playmate is dependent on: first, academic achievement, especially in reading and arithmetic; secondly, socio-economic status; and thirdly, physical prowess. Whereas boys tend to choose other boys as playmates essentially on the basis of academic achievement, they tend to choose girls essentially on the basis of social class (a rather precocious awareness on their part of short-cuts to social mobility!). For both boys and girls, the most important factor is achievement, the basis on which life in the school is organized.

10. Reeder, Thelma Adams, "A Study of Some Relationships between Level of Self-Concept, Academic Achievement, and Classroom Adjustment," unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, North Texas State College, 1955. Dissertation Abstracts, p. 2472.

This study deals with middle-grade children. It employs pupil self-ratings and teacher and peer ratings. It compares two groups of children matched on intelligence scores but having high and low self-concepts.

The essential finding of this study is that children with low self-concept have lower sociometric status, lower achievement, and are more frequently rated as having more problematic behavior than children with a high self-concept.

Some writers attribute both underachievement and a negative self-concept to a clash between the personal values of the pupil and those of the school, teacher hostility, disinterest in the school's curriculum, unwillingness to accept personal responsibility for achievement status, or to boys perceiving reading skill as being overly feminine -- in short to alienation. _Mutatis mutandis_, the reverse is true:. both high achievement and a positive self-concept are a result of the pupil's success experiences in the school, a sense of individualism. The largest context for this array of causes seems to be a sense of _Gemeinschaft_ vs. _Gesellschaft_, which calls for studying the school as a social system with interlocking contingencies for the pupil -- a topic we shall take up later on. For the aforementioned explanations of the linkage between the self-concept and achievement, see, for example, Passow; Morrow and Wilson; Schwitzgebel; Jackson; Wellington and Wellington; and Campbell.[33]

Chapter IV

SOCIOMETRIC DATA: "FIVE BEST FRIENDS"

INTRODUCTION

"Sociometry" is derived from the Latin "socius", meaning "associate", and the Greek "metrum", meaning "measurement." Hence, sociometry is the measurement of social relations, the study of the social location of the person. Technically, sociometry is more sociol-psychological than sociological, for it is concerned with the interaction between the person and the group rather than with overall group characteristics, tendencies, or rates. In other words, sociometry starts with the person as a baseline or unit of measurement and response, and then moves on to the group, **not** vice-versa.

Although sociometry tells us about the network of social relationships in a group and is thus indicative of group structure, we cannot actually say that, ipso facto, the group structure we infer on the basis of a sociometric test is the real structure. That is to say that sociometry enables us to make additive inferences about group structure, which obviously are quite different from participant-observational ones. The inter-personal network we construct for a group on the basis of a sociometric test, a one-shot test limited by time and place, may be quite different from the way the group itself functions at a given time or over a period of time. Essentially, the value of a sociometric test is social-psychological: It enables us to know an individual's choice of associates in a group of which he is already a member as well as one of which he might like to become a member. Obviously, negative sociometric tests -- e.g., "Name 3 persons you don't like to work with, play with, invite to your home, etc." -- tell us about groups an individual wishes to avoid. It is for this reason, that sociometic tests are important for the study of what sociologists call "reference groups" or "significant others."

In American sociology, sociometry represents a Viennese contribution, much like Freudianism in American psychiatry. It was developed by J. L. Moreno, himself from Vienna and a younger contemporary of Freud. Both Freud and Moreno found a ready market for their theories in America -- the former because of Puritan repression in American culture; the latter because of the American's love for numbers. As Moreno himself says, sociometry "took" in America because the American is the "Homo Metrum" per excellence, a creature dedicated to figures![1]

Because of the simplicity of sociometric techniques, they have been used extensively by both sociologists and school teachers -- the former, for the study of the classroom's social structure; the latter, for that as well as practical purposes, e.g., dividing the classroom group into small groups for instructional purposes, seating together children who like one another, and so forth. Typically, sociometric studies have been concerned with inter-personal relations in the classroom, especially with discovering stars and isolates among pupils, or with the relation between children's cliques and their social class.[2] A good deal of sociometric studies continues to be published, aptly enough, in a journal called Sociometry, which is now issued under the auspices of the American Sociological Association, Washington, D.C. Among researchers who have been noted for sociometric studies bearing on the work of the teacher, we would like to mention, inter alia, Moreno, Mary Northway, Evans, Thorpe et al. and Gronlund.[3]

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In our study of sixth-graders, we are concerned with the sociometric status of both military dependents and civilian pupils and of boys in comparison with girls. To what extent is the sociometric status of a pupil stable, i.e., to what extent would a pupil continue to be highly chosen -- or moderately chosen or even unchosen -- by his classmates as someone to work with, play with, or sit next to? Bonney has found out that the pupil's sociometric status, like his IQ and achievement score, tends to be stable over three years. In addition, studies by Jennings and others show that sociometric status tends to be fairly stable, not over two or three years but over several months.[4] It should be kept in mind that these studies have dealt with permanent-membership groups, that is, not with fluid-membership classrooms such as sixth-grades to which military dependents are constantly added and taken from. Hence, in our own study, we will be concerned with stability and change in the sociometric status of both mobile and local children. That these aforementioned studies dealt with various age-groups rather than specifically with sixth graders, is a minor matter..

Sociometric studies tend typically to focus on the highly-chosen (stars) in a group and the underchosen (semi-isolates and isolates). What are the behavior characteristics and personality traits associated with the highly chosen and the underchosen? A number of studies seem to agree that there are distinct differences between persons with a high sociometric status in their group and those with a low one. Olsen, Bonney, Kuhlen and Lee, and Northway suggest that the highly-chosen persons tend to be cooperative, daring, active, enthusiastic, happy, friendly, and full of initiative, whereas the underchosen tend to be disagreeable, quarrelsome, nervous, sulky, bossy, cheerless, listless, or noisy and rebellious.[5] In our own study, we are not so much concerned with coming up with a catalogue of virtues and vices corresponding to the degree to which a person is chosen or underchosen by his own group. What we are primarily concerned with is to find out the kinds of friends a mobile and a non-mobile pupil has and whether the pupil who is not chosen or quite under-chosen by his classmates is actually an "isolate" as the sociometric literature tends to label him or whether he actually has friends outside his grade, indeed his school. (In this context we would like to point out that the studies we reviewed in the preceding chapter on the relation between academic achievement and sociometric status suggest that essentially the highly chosen children tend to be "good students"; the underchosen, nonachievers. Furthermore, a pupil may be highly chosen to work with or study with, but not necessarily to have on a team or play with. Hence, what a pupil is, at times and most of the time, highly chosen for, or unchosen for, is important to know, especially if we are dealing with classroom-groups with fluid membership.)

How accurate are teachers in judging the sociometric status of pupils? Moreno has found out that the degree of accuracy depends on the grade level: Teachers are most accurate in kindergarten and first grade, 30 % accurate in the sixth-grade, and generally less accurate at higher grade-levels. Teachers are most accurate with regard to extremes in sociometric status (the very high and the very low) and seem to know their pupils less well the older the pupils are.[6] On the other hand, Tryon has found out that teachers tend to judge accurately the sociometric status of girls rather than boys. This is because, according to Tryon, teachers understand and admire the quiet, non-aggressive, friendly, and likeable behavior of girls -- which conforms to the school's demands -- more than the behavior of boys among boys, where gentleness is considered a weakness.[7] However, in his study of teachers' judgments of the sociometric status of sixth-grade pupils, a grade-level with which we are concerned in this project, Gronlund has found out that in general teachers accurately judge the sociometric status of girls as well as that of boys; that with regard to individual pupils, teachers' judgments vary considerably; that teachers tend to over-judge the sociometric status of pupils they most like and under-judge that of pupils they do not like; and that teachers who have taken a course in Child Development tend to judge the sociometric status of a pupil more accurately than those who have not taken such a course. All of these teachers' judgments were compared with pupils' judgments with regard to the pupils' preference for work companions, play companions, and seating companions. It should be mentioned that, as a group, teachers were least accurate in judging pupils' preferences for play companions. Teachers simply had no opportunity to observe their pupils on the play criterion as much as on the other two criteria![8]

FRIENDSHIP FORMATION IN GRADE SCHOOL

In this project, the sociometric question we have asked is concerned with the 5 best friends a sixth-grader has. In this section of the review of the literature we would like to deal with issues and concerns pertaining to friendship formation in elementary school.

To what extent do grade-school children choose friends outside their own families? To what extent do these children become peer-oriented at different grade-levels? A study by Bowerman and Kinch shows that children progressively move from a family orientation to a peer-group one as they grow up. With regard to 4th graders in Bowerman's and Kinch's sample, 87.1% were family oriented; 8th graders, 50%; and 10th graders, 31%. Bowerman and Kinch found out that girls and boys showed similar changes in growing orientation towards peers but that girls began such changes a year earlier than boys.[9]

To what extent are there sex and race preferences in the choice of friends among school children? In a study by Abel and Sahinkaya on this subject, the major finding is that sex preferences among children seem to appear before race preferences. By age five children prefer their own sex, but only the boys show definite race preferences. This implies that by the 4th grade friendship choices are well-established with regard to sex and race.[10] That these preferences may be changed again in adolescence is a different matter. Suffice it to say that race awareness in American culture starts early in life, as Mary Ellen Goodman has established,[11] and that this awareness may influence a person's choice of friends throughout his life.

In his study, Bronfenbrenner found out that there was sex cleavage at all grade levels from kindergarten through the sixth grade, but that this cleavage was inconsistent and subject to variation. He also found out that there was a decrease in the number of rejected children (those who were unchosen as friends) as the classroom group became better acquainted.[12] That, by the end of the year, there would be, or would not be, any changes in the friendship choices of mobile and non-mobile sixth-graders in our sample is one of the concerns of our project.

To what extent are children aware of social-class in their choice of friends? Gronlund reports various studies that show that children prefer to associate with age-mates who are of similar social class or slightly higher.[13] In her study of a small New England community, Celia Stendler has found out that in the first-grade, children begin to develop awareness of social class as a factor in popularity; that in the fourth-grade, they become more aware of the economic basis of status; and that in the sixth and eighth grades, they begin to view social class much like adults do. Especially for after-school activities, children tended to choose friends representing the same social class.[14]

According to Jennings, characteristic kinds of choices emerge and mutual friendship choices become more frequent as children grow older. With regard to young children in the lower grades, many choices are made which later on result in several changes in one-way preferences and few mutual choices. At about the 8th grade, more reciprocal choices are found and more of the choices are made across sex lines. Mutual affinities, according to Jennings, appear more numerous in the 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 8th grades and on into high school. During the mid-elementary years, however, associations are predominantly between members of the same sex. Linked chains of mutual choices and cliques tend to become more numerous in the 5th and 6th grades. Jennings cautions that the atmosphere in a classroom has much to do with the responses children make, e.g., the warmth of the teacher, activities which encourage a high degree of interaction among children, and a democratic teaching style.[15] Whether the patterns of interrelationships found in a given classroom can best be understood as a product of physical and mental maturation of children or as normally occurring cleavages is not as important in our project as whether these patterns are, in one way or another, related to geographic mobility.

Sociometrically and with regard to friendship formation, what makes "birds of a feather flock together"? With reference to academically able children (what used to be called "gifted children" in educational literature), nothing correlates more positively with their mutual choices, according to Harriet O'Shea, than the IQ of their friends. These children accept or reject friendships within their own high mental age group and have very little to do with average mental age children.[16]

Can friendship patterns be experimentally altered? Yes, under conditions of changed status, according to John Thibaut. Thibaut divided a group of boys into two teams, one of which got to play high-status parts all the time; the other, low-status ones. He found out that the high status team members drew closer together. The low-status team members also drew closer together, but the less popular members of the low-status team were the ones who did not change their initial friendship patterns. One of the reasons for this is that there was no ground for solidarity to develop between the unpopular members and the rest of the low-status team except through hostility to the high-status teams mixed with a revulsion for their own team. Thus it appears that one incentive for friendship making is the sharing of a common success or common plight.[17] It seems that being consistently of low-status or high-status (for example, slow learners as compared with gifted children or rapid learners) tends to restrict one's friendship choices to certain limited groups. What this study suggests is that the social organization of the school, the division of pupils into high-ability and low-ability groups, tends to pre-influence the friendship choices of children.

It would be useful to explore the concept of friendship. Sprott maintains that a powerful factor in the choice of friends is "the degree to which they share our standards of opinion and moral outlook".[18] Merton and Lazarsfeld, in studying friendship as a social process, mention the tendency for friendship to form between persons alike in some respects (a phenomenon called "homophily") and, conversely, between persons different in others ("heterophily"). The two authors point out that it is not easy -- obviously enough -- to have close friendships where values conflict and that in such cases there is a tendency to resolve differences in values, else the friendship would break up.[19]

But what about the meaning of friendship to students? According to Naegele, who interviewed a group of high-school students to find out how they defined friendship, the students emphasized that they viewed friendliness as different from popularity and that neither was quite the same as friendship. The students drew a distinction between "best friends", "close friends", "friends", and "just friends." To them friendship implied degrees of mutual trust, similarity of interest, a desire to spend time together, the keeping of confidences, and the freedom to be oneself without fear of ridicule. As a social relation, friendship implies to these students a kind of reciprocated closeness between two or more people who are free not to be close.[20] Friends are made and unmade; implied is a reservoir of "unrelated others" who can be approached _and if necessary left behind again_. Would it seem possible that mobile children are more accustomed than non-mobile ones to viewing friendship as something that is _made and broken off_? Does geographic mobility, as Bantock asserts, at times result in moral rootlessness?[21] To what extent do the public schools in a mass society, a complex _Gesellschaft_, supply children, as Jules Henry maintains, with "training for uninvolvement"? Would it not be a sign of emotional maturity as well as an adaptive mechanism for the mobile child, for example, to realize that friends are not irreplaceable but replaceable? These questions are beyond the scope of our project; we raise them here as part of our macro-sociological interest in exploring, albeit briefly, a larger context for the phenomena we discuss and the linkage between the person and society.

According to the 1960 Census, 33,640,000 Americans moved during that year. Of these, about 8 million were children between the ages of 5 and 17, 96,000 of whom lived abroad. Obviously, geographic mobility is a permanent aspect of modern life. With regard to school children, Frances Martin writes of the efforts the teacher can make to integrate the newcomer into the classroom. She asserts that too much physical mobility leads to apathy, to a tendency on the part of the child to live on the surface of his feelings to avoid being hurt. Such a child continuously experiences a shock of exit and re-entry into school systems, which the teacher and the classroom group can help to cushion.[23] On the other hand, we can assume that a sort of protracted culture shock may be true only of some mobile children and that there may be some children who, on the basis of travel, develop a "skill for sociability" and satisfy their "validation of the self" in new environments by acquiring new close friends. In other words, mobility forces the child to make friends but not keep them. We will examine this point further when we discuss our interviews with mobile and local sixth-graders.

We know only of one study that specifically deals with friendship formation among military dependents. Helene W. King, a school teacher trained in counseling and herself the wife of an Army man, interviewed 50 elementary school children in grades 1 to 6 in a school for Army personnel in Germany.[24] She asked the children about several things, such as their perception of time and space, sense of belonging to distant relatives and homeland, and their feelings about friendship. On friendship, her findings can be summarized as follows:

(a) An overall conclusion is that mobile children differ from children in more settled communities in the way they form friendships and relate to others as friends.

(b) The youngest children interviewed were not specific about their friendship choices. To the questions

"Who are your friends?" "Who is your best friend?" "Where is your best friend?" and "How long has he been your best friend?" the first and second grade children tended to answer "the kids I play with," or "My friends are in my stairwell" (apartment-house entrance).

(c) With third and fourth graders, the same questions drew answers which tended to depend on the length of time the child had been in the neighborhood. A child, newly arrived, mentioned the children he had just recently left behind as still his best friends. After a settling-in period, friendships sprang up in the classroom or in playgroups which helped him make the transition from newcomer to oldtimer and he would then name children in the local community as best friends. At the third and fourth-grade levels, answers also began to include relatives (cousins and grandparents especially) and members of families who had been close friends of his own family. Another important category of friends cited was children who had just recently left the community. There are always the leavers and the left. (Perhaps parental friendship choices vary in the same manner.)

(d) With regard to fifth and sixth graders, their responses, again, differed. Although they readily mentioned names of friends, these tended to be people close at hand who were no better friends than others

> relinquished in the past or likely to be remembered as better than friends one would make tomorrow at the next post. At these two grade-levels, friendship seemed to be losing its historical dimension. "Implied was a subtle change in affect or investment of self. Friendship was seen as valuable per se. This is a very tenuous lead to try to explore."[25] Thus for very young children, the friendship home-base was the stairwell community; for sixth graders, friendship was viewed as a series of tenuous relations and subject to exchange.

We will examine some of the aforementioned points in more detail when we discuss our interviews with mobile children and their teachers, and when we relate geographic mobility and locality to the self-concept of sixth-graders. We now turn our attention to our sociometric data and comment on our findings as we present them.

ANAYLSIS OF SOCIOMETRIC TEST, "FIVE BEST FRIENDS"

In 1964-65 and 1965-66, our sociometric test, "Five Best Friends", was administered twice each year, once in the fall and again in the spring, (a) to compare the friendship patterns of military dependents and their civilian classmates, and (b) to find out whether there were any changes in these patterns by the end of the year. By asking the sixth-grade mobile and non-mobile children to name their five best friends, we hoped to discover (a) the extent of the pupil's "sociogeographic anchoring" as revealed by the geographic location of his friends, and (b) his acceptability as a friend to his classmates as measured by the number of times he was chosen.

Because our study is focused on geographic mobility, we wished to know something about the sociometric status of the two kinds of pupils in our sample -- the mobile and the non-mobile, military dependents and non-P.L. 874 children. We were not content to follow the usual practice of sociometric studies and merely come up with a designation of pupils as "stars", "semi-stars", and "isolates" (highly chosen, under-chosen, and unchosen); we hoped, among other things, to qualify the position of the "isolate" on the sociogram by finding out whether or not he had friends outside his immediate classroom group, the group whose responses researchers usually use to designate the acceptability of the pupil. In addition, because mobile pupils tend to be newcomers to the school, we wanted to know where those dear and close to them, their best friends, were actually located. Hence, we thought of giving our sociometric test a deliberate social-psychological dimension by asking the pupil about the social space surrounding him (his friends) as well as the geographic space in which his friends are found. In a word, ours is a sociometric test with a socio-geographic content.

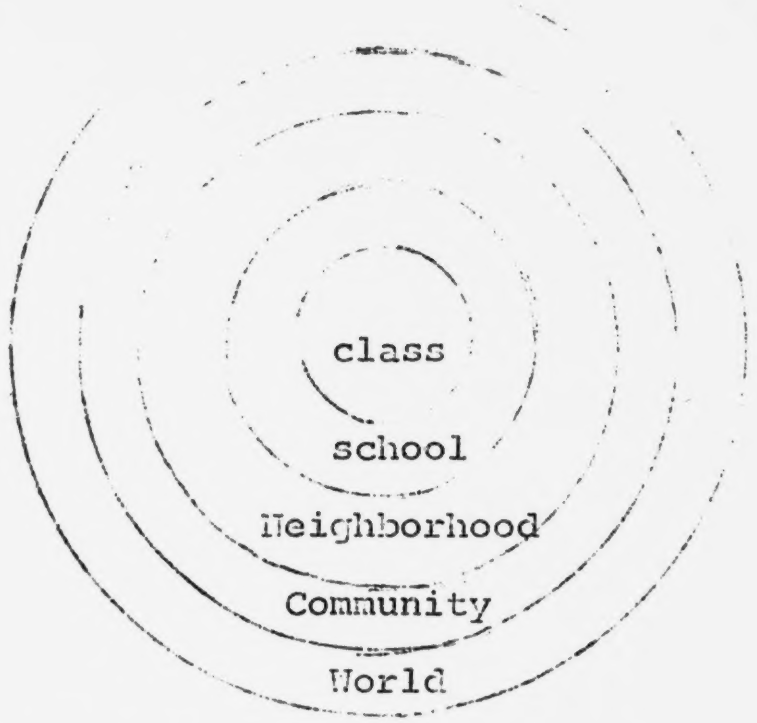
Our 1964-65 sociometric test consisted of two sheets. The first sheet had a space for the child to write his name and the following instructions: "Print the names of your 5 best friends -- they can be at this school or any other place." When the pupil completed the first sheet, he was given the second one, which requested him to write his name again at the top of the page and answer the following questions (given hereunder with the geographic category we had in mind):

1. How many of the 5 best friends you named above are from this sixth grade? (classroom)
2. How many of your 5 best friends go to this school but are not in this room? (school)
3. How many live near you but do not go to this school? (community)
4. How many live more than 50 miles away? (rest of the world)
5. How many are boys? How many are girls?

For 1965-66, we revised our sociometric test, making it more specific and adding a fifth geographic category, "neighborhood". On the second sheet, the pupil was asked to copy the names of his five best friends and, after each friend's name, to check the following: sex of friend, age (under or over 18), and geographic location. The geographic location categories were: "Is from this sixth-grade classroom" (class); "goes to this school but is not from this sixth grade classroom" (school); "lives within 10 miles of me but does not go to this school" (neighborhood); "lives 10 to 50 miles away but does not go to this school" (community); "lives more than 50 miles away" (rest of the world).

In the analysis of data, friendship choices were tabulated with regard to their location. The geographic categories used were classroom, school, neighborhood, community, and world. With regard to friendship, it can be said that the pupil is socially located at the center of a series of concentric circles, representing ever-expanding horizons. The nearest circle is that of the classroom; the furthest is what lies beyond the local community, more than 50 miles away from the present physical environment of the pupil; hence designated the "world at large", "the rest of the pupil's world", or simply the "world". Between the classroom and the world at large, are the circles of "school", "neighborhood", and local community". This is the social-geographic space of the pupil, his ecology of friends or peer group (see diagram below). Since in everyday language the overlapping of these categories is apparent, we have defined the sub-divisions of the child's friendship world, the relative position of his friends in his sociogeographic space, as follows:

1. Classroom: Consists of friends chosen within a child's class or homeroom, i.e., classmates.
2. School: Comprises schoolmates who are not classmates.
3. Neighborhood: Includes only friends living less than 10 miles from the child, not attending the same school.
4. Local Community: Contains friends living 10-50 miles from a child, not attending the same school.
5. World: Made up of friends living more than 50 miles from the child.



FRIENDSHIP ZONES: SOCIO-GEOGRAPHIC CATEGORIES

We had a separate analysis for each of the 1964-65 and 1965-66 sociometric data. As it will be recalled, there was no "neighborhood" category in the 1964-65 data. For 1965-66, the "local community" category was divided into "neighborhood" (within a radius of 10 miles from the child) and "community" (10-50 miles and readily negotiable by car).

A NOTE ON THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE "FIVE BEST FRIENDS"

The "Five Best Friends" is not a sociometric device in the usual sense. Most sociometric instruments, when used with pupils in a classroom setting, restrict the choices of friends by pupils to the class. Thus a closed social system (as defined by the instrument) is obtained in which the total number of choices made by the class equals the total number of choices received by the class. However, in the case of the "Five Best Friends", the social structure is open in regard to choosing but is closed in regard to being chosen. Thus the boundary of the social system defined by this instrument is semi-permeable, with the pupils of the class permitted to reach outward from the class to a world-wide community in choosing but the members of that community being prohibited to reach inward in choosing pupils in the class. Consequently, a semi-permeable social system is obtained, a system in which the number of choices made by the class is usually greater than the number of choices received by the class.

Although this device is valuable in discovering the socio-geographic anchoring of pupils as seen in the geographic location of persons named as friends, the data collected by this form are not comparable to data collected by other sociometric devices and are, as a result, not subject to traditional interpretation resulting from the use of traditional sociometric statistics. Furthermore, any attempt to determine from data collected with the "Five Best Friends" the position of pupils in the social structure of the class and to compare these positions from class to class must be approached with a realization of the limitations imposed by this instrument.

Nevertheless, if one is willing to assume as probable that, if the class were instructed to choose their five best friends only from the confines of the class, each individual would retain his relative position (more or less) within the social structure of the class as determined by the "Five Best Friends", then it is possible to use these data for more than determination of the socio-geographic anchoring of each individual. However, even accepting this assumption as valid, the analysis of these data is made more difficult by the need to have comparable scores from class to class, a problem which is compounded by the semi-permeable nature of the social system described by the data. The unit of measurement selected for use with these data must meet with the need for comparability of scores from class to class.

UNIT OF MEASUREMENT

Raw scores, weighted raw scores, corrected raw scores and weighted-corrected raw scores are all inappropriate in that the scores obtained by pupils in different classrooms are not comparable. Probability-of-chance-occurence units are likewise inappropriate because pupils in classrooms of the same size (with the same total number of votes) who receive the same number of votes would be given the same converted score, even though their relative positions within their respective groups could be vastly different.

Standard score units do not have these limitations. Standard scores (z or Z) could be determined for each pupil on the basis of the distribution of votes within his class. However, for distributions which are markedly different in regard to kurtosis and skewedness the scores would not be comparable. This problem can be circumvented by the use of normalized standard scores (McCall T) but by so doing the distribution of scores for each class is made to conform to the normal curve. The assumption that each distribution would be normal except for chance variation is basic in the use of standard normal units. It is to be expected that classroom distributions of votes received would be skewed to the right, the amount of skewedness being determined by the extent to which pupils choose friends from within the class -- the more they choose classmates the higher the mean, consequently a larger available scale below the mean for votes. This imposed, skewedness (resulting from a limitation on the range of available scores and the semi-permeable nature of the social system) is adjusted by the transformation of scores to McCall T scores.

Since the distribution of votes is supposedly determined by the social structure, from a theoretical point of view the distribution for different classes would not be expected to be the same. However, it is likely that most of the differences would center around differences in means (which creates no problem about the assumption of normality), with some differences in the kurtosis of the distributions, and little difference in skewedness. The advantages of this transformation in making scores comparable from class to class, in reflecting relative positions, and in adjusting for the limiting factor imposed by a small range of available scale points below the mean seem to outweigh the disadvantage introduced by the error created by the loss of "real" differences in kurtosis. Since these differences are probably quite small in the "true score" distributions it is likely that little systematic error is introduced and random error is reduced.

The distinction between "neighborhood" and "community" choices emerged only in the analysis of the data obtained from the 1965-66 sample. In the earlier sample (1964-65), these two sociogeographic categories were merged to form just one, called "community".

For examination of the effect of mobility on friendship choices, three indices of mobility were used:

(a) Personal mobility status, i.e., whether a pupil is mobile or local.

(b) Number of moves, i.e., the number of cities the pupil lived in; the number of schools he or she attended.

(c) Class mobility level, i.e., whether the classroom group of pupils is of low, medium, or high mobility, depending on the proportion of military dependents in the class.

The Chi-square statistic was used to test the hypothesis that geographic mobility did not have any effect on the distribution of friendship choices. Percentages of friendship choices falling in each socio-geographic category were also computed. Analysis of variance was employed to determine whether mobility introduced any bias or discrimination in a child's selection of friends from among his classmates. For this test, the raw score specifying the number of times a child was selected by his classmates was converted into a T score.

SOCIOMETRIC DATA: FINDINGS

In the analysis of sociometric data, we have used the same approach as in the analysis of our academic achievement data. We organized the analysis first on the basis of classroom groups and the distribution of military dependents and civilian pupils in them, that is, we used the classroom group as a unit of analysis.

Secondly, we employed aggregates of individual pupils, military dependents and civilians, as a basis for analysis, regardless of the particular classrooms in which these pupils were located. So far in this approach we have considered "mobile" as a synonym for military dependent; "local" as a synonym for civilian. This is because, in our sample, military dependents as a group, are the mobile pupils _per excellence_. But since some local pupils have also moved around in their schooling careers, we have done a third kind of analysis: (a) analysis by number of _cities_ in which the pupil, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, had attended school -- regardless of whether the pupil was a military dependent or a civilian pupil; and (b) analysis by the number of _schools_ the pupil had attended (kindergarten through the sixth-grade), regardless of whether the pupil was a military dependent or civilian child and regardless of whether he had attended more than one school in the same city.

With regard to friendship choices, the questions we are asking are the following:

1. (a) In basing our analysis on entire classrooms, is there a difference between classes that are predominantly composed of military dependents (called "high-mobility classes"), those that are predominantly composed of civilian pupils ("low-mobility classes"), and those whose enrollment is about half-and-half ("medium mobility classes")?

(b) In basing our analysis on individual pupils irrespective of their classroom group, is there a difference between military dependents, other federally-connected pupils, and non-P. L. 874 pupils?

2. With regard to each of the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples, is there a change in friendship choices by the end of the school-year? Is there a difference between the fall and spring sociometric results for each sample?

3. Regardless of their P. L. 874 designation (military dependents, other federally-connected pupils, and non- P. L. 874 pupils), do pupils who have attended school in, say, four or more cities differ in their friendship choices from pupils who have attended school in only one city? Turning from "mobility by cities" to "mobility by schools", do we find any differences in friendship choices that are associated with the number of schools attended?

I. COMPARISON OF 3 CLASSROOM GROUPS (PREDOMINANTLY LOCAL, MOBILE, OR MIXED)

Note: (a) 1964-65 Sample. Three classroom groups are compared: those with 0-7% military dependents, i.e., composed mostly of local pupils; those with 15-40% military dependents, i.e., mixed military dependents-local; and those with 56-100% military dependents, i.e., where local pupils are a minority. Each group consists of 10 classrooms.

(a) 1964-65 Sample. (cont.) For the sake of brevity, we shall at times refer to these classroom groups, respectively, as "low-mobility", "medium-mobility", and "high-mobility" classes.

(b) 1965-66 Sample. Whereas the 1964-65 sample consisted of 30 classrooms, the 1965-66 one was made up of 28. These are divisible into three groups, 10 "low-mobility" classrooms -- zero to 11% military dependents; 11 "medium mobility" ones -- 42-64%; and 7 "high mobility" ones -- 74-100%.

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Fall, 1964-65 (Table S-1)*

The 30 sixth-grade classrooms were grouped according to the proportion of military dependents in them, called "mobility level". The percentage of choices falling in a particular socio-geographic category differed significantly from one mobility level to another. However, for each mobility level, the bulk of the choices fell in the "class" category, that is, pupils in each of the three mobility-levels chose most of their friends from their own classroom. About half of the friendship choices of high mobility classes fell in this category; about three-fifths of the choices of medium mobility classes; and about two-thirds of the choices of low mobility classes. This is not surprising, for the classroom is the center of daily life for the pupil; the child, qua pupil, spends most of his day in the classroom. The classroom is where most of his friends are, be they military dependents or not.

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*: Sociometric Tables are in Appendix B.

Another important finding we have discovered has to do with the difference between friendship choices made in the child's immediate surroundings (the first three categories of "class", "school", and "local community") and those made beyond the local community (the rest of the socio-geographic world). The higher the mobility level of the classroom, the higher the percentage of choices made beyond the local community:

(a) Pupils in high mobility classes chose more than one-fourth of their friends (28-48%) from beyond the local community (world).

(b) Pupils in medium mobility classes chose a little over 10% of their friends from beyond the local community.

(c) Pupils in low mobility classes made less than 10% of their friendship choices beyond the local community.

2. Spring, 1964-65 (Table S-2)

(a) Classes of low and medium mobility essentially maintained the friendship pattern observed in the Fall.

(b) For high mobility classes, the percentage of world choices (those beyond the local community) decreased from 28.48% to 22.56% (roughly, from a fourth to a fifth). This is indicative of adjustment to immediate surroundings, a more "localization" of friendship choices of classes composed predominantly of mobile pupils.

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

1. Fall, 1965-66 (Table S-3)

It should be recalled that whereas the socio-geographic category of "community" indicated, for the 1964-65 sample, friends living near the pupil but not going to the same school, this category was further refined for the 1965-66 sample to include "neighborhood" (friends living less than 10 miles from pupil but not going to the same school) and "community" (friends living 10-50 miles away). For the 1964-65 sample, we found it instructive in our interpretation of data to group the four socio-geographic categories into immediate surroundings (class, school, and local community) vs. the rest of the world (more than 50 miles away). For the 1965-66 sample, we again followed the same approach in interpretation to give a clear overall picture of the results. Obviously, we wouldn't do that unless the Tables are statistically significant, which they are.

The results of the Fall, 1965-66 sociometric testing can be summarized as follows:

(a) About two-fifths of the choices of pupils in low-mobility classes were from the classroom itself. In this category also fell about half of the choices of pupils in medium-mobility and high mobility classes. This is indicative of the primary importance of the classroom group as a source of friendships.

(b) High-mobility classes had a wider circle of friends: 23.56% of their friends (about one-fourth) lived more than 10 miles away; 19.97% (about one-fifth) lived more than 50 miles away. With regard to friends living more than 10 miles away (the community and world choices), the figure for medium-mobility classes was 15.26% (about one-sixth); for low-mobility classes, 11.20% (about one-tenth).

(c) For low-mobility classes, 88.80% (about nine out of ten) of the friends chosen were either in the same classroom, school, or neighborhood. For high-mobility classes, the figure is 76.44% or three out of four friends from the same immediate surroundings.

(d) The 1965-66 overall distribution of friendship choices is similar to that of the 1964-65 sample. However, in this Fall 1965-66 testing, there is a different trend in the data: the higher the mobility level, the higher is the proportion not only of "world" choices but also of "classroom" choices.

2. Spring, 1965-66 (Table S-4)

The results of the Spring sociometric testing are somewhat different from the Fall one. Certain changes in the choice pattern are observed. For example, whereas in the Fall there was a reduction in "neighborhood" choices with an increased mobility-level, the opposite trend was evident in the Spring. The high-mobility classes diminished their "world" choices and made new additions in "school" and "neighborhood" choices -- an indication of more "localization" of their friendships.

(a) For low, medium, and high mobility classes, the "community" choices in the Spring were 3.17%, 1.65%, and 2.30%, respectively. The "world" choices were 7.18%, 10.42%, and 12.64%, respectively.

(b) Low-mobility classes became more "localized" in their friendship choices: In the Spring, their "classroom" choices increased by 5%; their neighborhood" and "community" choices dropped 5%.

(c) The "school" and "community" choices of the medium-mobility classes were about the same in the Spring as in the Fall, with a slight increase in "class" and "neighborhood" choices and a slight decrease in "world".

(d) In the Spring, as "class", "community", and "world" choices for the high-mobility classes decreased, they were accompanied by an increase in "school" and "neighborhood" choices.

C. SOCIOMETRIC STATUS & MOBILITY LEVEL OF CLASSROOM

So far we have dealt with the difference between classroom groups composed of various proportions of military dependents (called "low", "medium", and "high" mobility classes) in relation to choosing friends in various geographic locations starting with the classroom and ending more than 50 miles away (the rest of socio-graphic world). Now we turn our attention to another question: To what extent is the pupil's chance of being chosen as a friend affected by the mobile-local composition of his class? In other words, would a pupil's acceptability as a friend -- his popularity or his sociometric status as based on the number of choices he gets -- be influenced by the distribution of mobile and local children in his class? (By "mobile" and "local" children is meant, as it will be recalled, military dependents and non-military dependents.)

1. 1964-65 Sample, Fall & Spring (Tables S-5 and S6)

   The two Tables are not statistically significant. This means that for both the Fall and the Spring, the number of friendship choices received by a pupil within his class is unaffected by the mobile-local composition of the class.

2. 1965-66 Sample, Fall & Spring (Tables S-7 & S-8)

   Again, the two Tables are not statistically significant. There is not enough evidence to support the assumption that a pupil's "popularity" is influenced by the distribution of mobile and local children in his class.

With regard to both the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples, the mobile-local composition of the class to which a pupil belonged was not a significant factor that influenced his acceptability as a friend to his classmates.

II. COMPARISON OF AGGREGATES OF INDIVIDUAL PUPILS

In the preceding section, we analyzed our sociometric data on the basis of classroom groups and their mobile-local composition. In this section, our analysis of data is based on three kinds of pupils regardless of the classroom group in which they happen to be found. The three kinds of pupils are: P. L. 874 military dependents, P. L. 874 other federally-connected pupils, and non- P.L. 874 pupils (regular civilian ones). From considering the classroom group as a unit of analysis, we now base our analysis on aggregates of individual pupils. Becuase for all practical purposes P. L. 874 federally-connected pupils are as local as the non-P. L. 874 ones, they have been combined with them in this analysis.

The question according to which we are organizing our data analysis is the following: Does a child's mobility status (whether he is military dependent or local) affect (a) the geographic location of his friends, and/or (b) his chance of being chosen as a friend by his classmates?

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Mobility Status (Mobile vs. Local Pupils)

(a) Fall, 1964-65 (Table S-9)

(1) With regard to "world" choices (beyond 50 miles of the pupil's environment), less than 9% of the local pupils' friends were in this category -- in comparison with about 30% of the mobile pupils' friends.

(2) About 91% of the local pupils' friends were from the immediate environment (classroom, school, and local community), with about 60% from the same classroom. In comparison, about 70% of the mobile pupils' friends were chosen from the immediate environment, with 40% from the same classroom.

(b) Spring, 1964-65 (Table S-10)

(1) The local pupils' choices followed the same pattern as in the Fall.

(2) The "world" choices of mobile pupils decreased 6%, an indication of adjustment to the local environment.

These results are similar to those based on the analysis of total classroom groups (Section I).

2. Mobility Status and Sex

Are there any statistically significant differences between the friendship choices of mobile boys vs. mobile girls and those of local boys vs. local girls? Tables S-11, S-12, S-13, and S-14 deal with these comparisons for both the Fall and Spring of 1964-65. These

Tables are all not statistically significant, indicating that within mobile pupils and local pupils there are no sex differences associated with choice of friends from various socio-geographic zones (classroom, school, local community, and world).

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

1. Mobility Status (Mobile vs. Local Pupils)

(a) Fall, 1965-66 (Table S-15)

(1) About 51% of the friends of mobile pupils were classmates. Almost 80% were from the immediate surroundings (class, school, neighborhood). About 21% of the mobile pupils' friends lived more than 10 miles away.

(2) About 44% of the local pupils' friends were classmates. However, only about 12% of the local pupils' friends lived more than 10 miles away. About 88% of the local pupils' friends were from the immediate surroundings -- class, school, and neighborhood.

(3) The mobile pupils tended to show a wider selection of friends than the locals.

(b) Spring, 1965-66 (Table S-16)

(1) Again, the mobile pupils made over 50% of their choices from among their classmates. The usual end-of-year change in the friendship choices of mobile pupils was evident --

their "world" choices decreased about 5% (from 18.30% in the Fall to 13.89% in the Spring).

(2) The local pupils' class choices increased by about 4% -- from 44.37% in the Fall to 48.21% in the Spring. Their community and world choices (friends living more than 10 miles away) dropped about 2% -- from 11.90% in the Fall to 9.96% in the Spring.

(3) A general trend can be spotted: After one semester in school, the mobile children chose more friends from among their classmates and their neighbors; their community and world choices decreased. Local pupils made more friends in school, particularly among their classmates; their friendship choices in other categories diminished slightly.

2. Mobility Status and Sex

(a) Fall, 1965-66 (Tables S-17 & S-18)

These two Tables compare the friendship choices of mobile boys and mobile girls, local boys and local girls. The two Tables are not statistically significant, indicating no sex differences in friendship choices.

(b) Spring, 1965-66 (Tables S-19 & S-20)

Table S-19 deals with the friendship choices of mobile boys and mobile girls; Table S-20, with those of local boys and local girls.

Surprisingly enough, the Spring sociometric testing points to statistically significant differences between the friendship choices of boys and those of girls. Among both mobile and local pupils, boys chose more friends from among their classmates than girls did. Girls chose more friends from school, the local community (10 to 50 miles radius), and places beyond 50 miles away (the "world" category). Mobile girls were similar to local boys in that they had more choices in the "local community" category than either mobile boys or local girls. The overall trend in the Spring 1965-66 data is that girls in this sample seem to have been able to make friends more readily than boys and had a wider range of friends outside the classroom.

C. SOCIOMETRIC STATUS & MOBILITY OF PUPIL

Does a child's acceptability as a friend (his sociometric status or the number of choices he gets) depend upon his being a military dependent (mobile) or a non-military dependent (local) pupil? Tables S-21, S-22 S-23, and S-24 deal with the analysis of variance of the sociometric scores of mobile and local pupils. These Tables are for the Fall and Spring and are for both the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples.

The four Tables are not statistically significant. This means that with regard to both the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples and with reference to both the Fall and Spring sociometric data, there was no tendency on the part of sixth-grade pupils to discriminate against a child because of his mobility status. The mobile child could expect to be chosen as a classmate's friend just as often as the local child. There was no impartiality in the way pupils chose friends from among their classmates, the mobile pupils being equally chosen and favored as friends as the local ones.

D. SOCIOMETRIC STATUS, MOBILITY STATUS, & SEX

In selecting friends from among his classmates, would a pupil show a specific preference for mobile rather than local children, or for boys rather than girls? We only analyzed the data for the 1965-66 sample because we had discovered a sex difference in the choice of friends in various geographic locations (classroom, school, neighborhood, local community, and world). Tables S-25 and S-26 deal with this analysis for both the Fall and Spring, 1965-66. These Tables are not statistically significant, which means that mobility status and sex did not influence friendship choice. Classmates had no preference in the selection of friends either on the basis of the pupil's mobility status or sex.

III. MOBILITY BY CITIES & FRIENDSHIP CHOICES

In what way does the number of cities in which a child, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, has attended school influence the distribution of his friendship choices? Regardless of whether a child is a P.L. 874 military dependent, a P. L. 874 federally-connected pupil, or a non-P.L. 874 ordinary pupil, would his attendance of school, say only in one city be associated with his selection of friends from his immediate surroundings? Would his classmate who has attended school in more than 5 cities select his best friends mainly from outside his classroom?

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Fall, 1964-65(Table S-27)

The results can be summarized as follows:

(a) As the number of cities in which the child attended school increases, his choices of friends who live more than 50 miles away from him increases and his choice of friends from his own classroom decreases. For example, pupils who attended school in only one city chose only 7% of their friends from outside their local community. On the other hand, the most mobile pupils -- those who attended school in more than 5 cities -- chose 30% of their friends from places more than 50 miles beyond the local community.

(b) Regardless of whether a child attended school only in one city or in more than 5 cities, the bulk of his friendship choices was from his own classroom. Two-thirds (66.24%) of the friends of pupils who had attended school only in one city were chosen from the classroom. For pupils who had attended school in more than 5 cities, close to half of their friends (45.57%) were from their classroom.

2. Spring 1964-65 (Table S-28)

The Spring results show a change in the distribution of friends in various geographic categories. For most groups (those attending school in two or more cities) a significant reduction in "world" choices occured in the Spring. This indicates, perhaps, that as children get acquainted with their immediate environment, they are more inclined to neglect friends they made earlier in distant communities.

The "world" choices of the Spring testing do not appear as consistently related to the number of cities in which school was attended as the Fall results. The "world" choices of children who had attended school in 3 cities were slightly higher than those of children who had attended school in 4 or more cities.

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

(a) Fall, 1965-66 Table S-29)

As the number of cities in which school was attended increases, there is a proportional and cumulative 5% increase in "world" choices (places beyond 50 miles away).

With regard to pupils who attended school only in one city, about half of their friends were classmates (46.49%) and about 91% of their total number of friends lived within 10 miles of them. In contrast to this, the most mobile group of pupils -- those who attended school in 5 to 7 cities -- selected only about 72% of their friends from within a 10 mile radius.

(b) Spring, 1965-66 (Table S-30)

In the Spring, "class" choices increased and "world" choices decreased. This is true of all groups of pupils whether attending school in 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5-7 cities. It seems that the most mobile group, pupils who attended school in 5-7 cities, became more sociable in their immediate surroundings (class, school, and neighborhood). There was a 10% increase in the number of friends they chose from within the 10 mile radius.

C. MOBILITY BY CITIES & SOCIOMETRIC STATUS

Does the number of cities in which the pupil attended school affect his chance of being chosen as a friend by his classmates? For example, would highly mobile pupils, those who attended school in more than 5 cities, be as acceptable and as popular in being named as friends by their classmates as pupils who attended school only in one city?

Tables S-31, S-32, S-33, and S-34 report the analysis of variance of the sociometric scores of pupils attending school in 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 or more cities. These Tables are for the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples and deal with the Fall and Spring testing for each year. The four Tables are not statistically significant. Analysis of variance shows that the frequency with which pupils were picked as friends within the class was not significantly affected by the number of cities in which they had attended school. From this it might be inferred that newcomers had established themselves fairly well in their classroom environment and that their classmates did not take long in accepting them as friends. Or it might be said that mobility (attendance of school in several cities) was not a relevant category for pupils in their choice of friends, that pupils were colorblind to it in the organization of their friendship world from the human materials available in their classrooms.

Earlier in this chapter we equated geographic mobility with being a military dependent. When we based our analysis on classroom groups and on aggregates of pupils we discovered that being a military dependent did not make a difference either in the acceptability or unacceptability of a pupil as a friend, that the pupil as an object of choice for friendship was chosen irrespective of his being a military dependent or not being one. This is also true with regard to the sex of the pupil -- boys had an equal chance of being chosen as friends as girls, and vice-versa.

In this section we equated mobility with school attendance in various cities regardless of whether the pupil was a P. L. 874 military dependent or a non-P. L. 874 civilian one. Again, we discovered that mobility had no bearing on the acceptability of the child as a friend among his classmates. That military dependents and pupils in general who attend school in various cities select their friends from different socio-geographic zones (class, school, local community, and beyond 50 miles away) is not at issue in this sub-section; what has been at issue here is not the choosing of friends in various localities but the chosen-ness of the pupil as a friend by his classmates.

We now turn our attention to another measure of mobility: attendance of various schools regardless of cities in which they are located. Again, we hope to discover whether such a mobility makes a difference in the pupil's choosing of friends as well as his chosen-ness as a friend by his classmates.

IV. MOBILITY BY SCHOOLS & FRIENDSHIP CHOICES

Regardless of where schools are located (in one city or several cities) and regardless of whether the pupil is a military dependent or not, is the number of schools attended by him from kindergarten through the sixth-grade associated with different percentages in his choice of friends from his class, school, local community, or places more than 50 miles away?

A. 1964-65 SAMPLE

1. Fall, 1964-65 (Table S-35)

The number of schools attended had a statistically significant effect on the geographic location of persons named as friends. Pupils who had attended only one school named around 72% of their friends from their classroom and their school. This percentage diminishes with the number of schools attended; the more the schools, the lower the percentage of friends in these two categories. Only about 59% of the total friendship choices of pupils who had attended 5-7 schools were in the "class" and "school" categories.

It seems that "community" choices shows the least fluctuation. For each group of pupils, with attendance of one school to 5-7, the community choices of friends are about one-fifth. This means that all children had friends in their local communities, friends who did not go to the same school they themselves attended.

The "world" choices (those more than 50 miles away) varied significantly from group to group, increasing as the number of schools increased. This could be because the different schools attended by a child were in different cities and, hence, he was exposed to a wider selection of friends.

2. Spring, 1964-65 (Table S-36)

"World" choices decreased for all groups although they followed the Fall trend of increasing with the number of schools attended. This finding is in accord with previous ones reported in this Chapter: The Spring sociometric results show a narrowing down of the geographic bounds of the pupils's friendship choices. The best evidence of change can again be observed among the most mobile group of pupils, those who attended 5-7 schools. Their choice of friends from among their classmates and schoolmates increased by 4% -- from about 59% in the Fall to about 63% in the Spring.

B. 1965-66 SAMPLE

1. Fall, 1965-66 (Table S-37)

"World" choices followed the trend noted previously, increasing as the number of schools increased.

Nothing definite can be said about a distinct trend in "class" choices other than that the highest percentage was that of pupils who had attended only one school. For these pupils, about 81% of their friends were located in the same school. For pupils who had attended 5-7 schools, about 68% of their friends were found in the same school they presently attended.

Again, regardless of whether pupils had attended 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5-7 schools during their schooling career, the bulk of their choices fell in the "classroom" category. Roughly, half of the total friendship choices made were from the classroom.

2. Spring, 1965-66 (Table S-38)

Trends seen in previous analyses are true here:

(a) "World" choices decrease in the Spring.

(b) "World" choices increase as the number of schools attended increases.

It appears that one semester gave pupils ample time to get acquainted with their classmates and thus choose most of their friends from among them. Each mobility group showed a fairly high percentage of "class" choices. Pupils who had attended only one school (the strictly local ones) increased their "class" choices by 7%. There was a decrease in "world" choices as children became more inclined to pick their friends from within their local community. For each mobility group, this decrease was generally about 3%; in the case of pupils who had attended 5-7 schools, it was about 5%.

C. MOBILITY BY SCHOOLS & SOCIOMETRIC STATUS

Is the acceptability or unacceptability of the pupil as a friend among his classmates influenced by the number of schools he had attended? Does mobility status, as measured by the number of schools attended, have any bearing on sociometric status -- as measured by the number of choices received by the pupil from his classmates? Tables S-39 and S-40 deal only with the 1965-66 sample and report the results for both the Fall and the Spring. These Tables deal with the analysis of variance of sociometric scores of pupils attending school in 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5-7 cities.

Tables S-39 and S-40 are not statistically significant. The number of schools attended by a child did not significantly affect the number of times he was chosen as a friend. With regard to the Fall results, it can be said that probably geographic movement had played an important part in increasing a child's adaptability to a new environment, a new school, and particularly new classmates. It could also be said perhaps that those pupils who had stayed in the same school for a considerable length of time had developed an interest in the newcomer, including him in their circle of friends. Among pupils, we can assume the existence of integrative enclaves for the newcomer, composed of socially sensitive old-timers. The teacher herself may also be helpful in the newcomer's accommodation to her classroom group.

Again, the results of the Spring testing are consistently the same as those obtained in the Fall. The choice of a classmate as a friend bears no relation to the number of schools the classmate may have attended.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The distribution of friendship choices in various socio-geographic categories was significantly related to the mobility status of pupils. Local pupils were more firmly established in their immediate surroundings than mobile ones, as manifested by the higher proportion of their choices within the limits of the school and local community. Moreover, the degree of the pupil's local anchoring varied inversely with the number of cities he had lived in as well as with the number of schools he had attended. That is to say that the higher the mobility of the pupil (the higher the number of cities or schools he had been through), the higher his percentage of friends living more than 50 miles away.

Mobile pupils, particularly those with a lot of travel behind them, displayed a wider circle of friends than local pupils. One expects this, because children retain, for a while at least, some of the friends they leave behind when they move. The newcomer to a seemingly strange environment experiences a certain measure of shyness at first, and does not have as many friends within his new environment as one who is fairly well established in it. But with the passage of time, the newcomer develops an awareness of people around him and, thus, local friendship blossoms.

The results of the Fall and Spring sociometric testing, when compared, give evidence of the aforementioned phenomenon. One can observe, in the Spring, a jump in the proportion of friends chosen within the present surroundings of the mobile child and a drop in the number of his "world" choices.

The analysis of variance of the sociometric scores leads one to believe that a child is not discriminated against because of his mobility status. Military dependents as well as all highly mobile pupils who have attended school in several places have as much chance of being chosen as friends by their classmates as any local child.

About 50% of all pupils' friendship choices, the mobile as well as the non-mobile, consisted of classmates. This is not surprising, because to a child, the classroom is the center of most of his activities. He spends a good deal of his daily life there. The child, _qua_ pupil, dwells in the classroom. The classroom is where most of his friends are.

CHAPTER V

SELF-CONCEPT DATA: THE "WHO-AM-I?" TEST

INTRODUCTION

Now that we have dealt with achievement and sociometric-status data, which are social data on the pupil supplied by such others as teachers and classmates, we turn our attention to self-concept data, supplied by the pupil himself. As in the analysis of achievement and sociometric data, we will be concerned with differences and similarities between mobile and non-mobile pupils.

In psychological literature, the word "self" has usually two meanings: "the self as subject or agent, and the self as the individual who is known to himself".[1] It is according to the second meaning that the term "self concept" is usually understood.[2] Sociologically, however, the self is considered an object to the person, a focus of attention to be contemplated and reflected upon as if it existed outside the person. To view the self as an object is but to adopt a plan of action towards it (an attitude), as if it were another person or a concrete physical object. This is essentially the view of George Herbert Mead, who has emphasized that the self arises through interaction with others, that is, in social experience and activity, and that the person perceives and defines himself as he believes other people perceive and define him.[3] To put it simply, this is but to say that a person needs others to be himself; that for the human person life is with people; and that people live in one another. That is to say that people dwell symbolically in one another, that the human being is essentially a memory, and that the person cannot be understood except in relation to others (nor can he understand himself except so).

Sociologically, then, the self cannot be viewed as "a relatively static or structured unity, but as a complex of roles, capable of extension and differentiation under the impact of social experience".[4] This means that interaction and participation are essential to self-identity, that we learn about ourselves and others only by taking the role of others and that what we call the "self" is but an image we learn only through others.[5] If the person is but an aspect of a group context, if the self is but an index of an interactive situation, then a shift in the person's reference group or significant others means a shift in his self-concept. That is to say that the self is an on-going social process, an unfinished business. If this is so, any measure of the self-concept is but an ad hoc measure of something which is always in process, not to be understood by teachers or researchers as absolute and for all time. To change a person, be he a pupil or an adult, is to change his reference groups, i.e., his location with regard to others, and hence his self-concept.

As Goffman asserts, personality is performance: the self is a function of the scene. "The nature of the individual, as he sees himself and we impute it to him, is generated by the nature of his group affiliations."[6] Since he plays a multiplicity of roles, the person is a multiplicity of selves.[7] In Goffman's view, the person can be defined as a stance-taking entity, caught between himself and the group.[8] The person "must rely on others to complete the picture of him of which he himself is allowed to paint only certain parts."[9]

The foregoing account has emphasized the social context of the self-concept. Implicit in it is the assumption that human relations are never complete, that they are a matter of negotiation and social exchange, and that they are quite fragile and always in process. This means that others only see parts of the person, never the total person, and that a person cannot be understood completely nor understand others completely; more importantly and in relation to self-concept, that the person cannot see himself completely nor understand himself completely. It can be said that in a complex Gesellschaft such as American society, with its high rate of geographic and social mobility, people are unknown quantities to others as well as to themselves. If that is so, then we can culturally grasp why the self-defining and mobile individual tends to emphasize his individualism while practicing conformity, and why his self-concept may be considered quite ad hoc, ever precarious, and dependent on a constant procession of changing or potentially replaceable others.

If the person can be sociologically understood only in relation to others, then the self can only be seen in relation to a social system. Relating the self to a social system can be clearly done through a positional reference such as status, e.g., that of pupil. As Berger maintains, identity is but a matter of social location, of social mapping.[10] Indeed, "role", or what people do as occupants of a social status is essentially a matter of identity, for the very terms "status" and "role" imply a social context, an interrelationship with others, an inter-reference to others. Thus, identity can be defined as the social statuses of the person and the attributes which he regards as relevant to his statuses.[11] The self, then, is but an internalization of one's positions in social systems, of the effect of others on oneself and oneself on others.[12] In our society, with its high rate of geographic and social mobility, a person casts his lot within a wide range of reference groups. Because a mobile pupil's experience, social and geographic, may not have been shared by his classmates, giving him a pre-determined checklist of items to measure his self-concept may not be relevant to the way he views himself. Allowing him to present his own categories of experience, of self-attitude, would be more meaningful.

THE "WHO-AM-I?" (WAI) TEST

As a measure of the self-concepts of pupils in our study, we have employed the "Who-Am-I?" test, an unstructured self-evaluation test. This test is also known in the literature as the "Twenty-Statement Test" because when it is usually given to adults, it consists of 20 blanks on which they are requested to write 20 statements in answer to the question "Who Am I?". When the WAI is used with school children, the request is usually for 10, not 20 statements.

The WAI gives a simple and direct measure of self-perceived identity. "Since it is open-ended, it allows the subject to define his own universe of responses."[13] The WAI enables the person to state how he himself views himself. Researchers like the WAI because of its simplicity, lack of a priori items, and the freedom it allows the respondent in communicating his own outlook of himself.

According to sociological lore, the idea for the WAI originally came from Everett C. Hughes: he discussed the test in one of his courses at the University of Chicago in the late forties or early fifties. In as much as Hughes's star students such as Erving Goffman and Howard S. Becker continue to draw constantly on a wealth of classroom notes they had taken in his courses, another erstwhile student, Thomas S. McPartland, has used the Hughesian notion of an unstructured self-evaluation test to open up new vistas in social psychology and to encourage a lot of research based on the WAI. For after McPartland transferred from the University of Chicago to the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, he teemed up with Manford H. Kuhn to systematize the WAI and use it deliberately in research. The first journal article on the WAI, written by Kuhn and McPartland, and entitled "An Empirical Investigation of Self-Attitudes," appeared in the American Sociological Review in 1954 (Vol. 19, pp. 68-76). McPartland's Ph.D. dissertation, the first to be based on the WAI, was entitled "The Self and Social Structure: An Empirical Approach"; it appeared in 1953 (Department of Sociology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa -- Dissertation Abstracts,1953, 13:447-448). Under Kuhn, as chairman of the Department of Sociology at the aforementioned University, a whole generation of graduate students in sociology continued to use the WAI as a basis for their dissertations. More importantly, these students continued to publish research based on the WAI and to encourage other sociologists to use the WAI as an empirical instrument (see for example Sociometry and the Sociological Quarterly, 1960-1966, for papers by C. J. Couch, Robert Stewart, S. P. Spitzer, W. S. Garretson, F. B. Waisanen, H. A. Mulford, among others; also by McPartland and by Kuhn).

Although the WAI is an intriguingly simple instrument to administer and collect data with, there has been no agreement among sociologists on a best way to analyze the data collected. Among the manuals and guidelines devised for analysis of the WAI data are the following:

1. Kuhn, M. H. "Procedure for Content Analysis of the TST in Five Inclusive Categories", U. of Iowa, Ditto, 2 pp. n.d.
2. Kuhn, M. H., "Procedure for Assessing Disturbance on the TST", U. of Iowa, Ditto, 3 pp. n.d.
3. Fitzgerald, J. D., et al, "An Index of Self-Derogation on the T.S.T.", U. of Iowa, Ditto, 7 pp. n.d.
4. Couch, C. J., and Brooks, R. S., "A Manual for Coding Responses to the Twenty-Statement Test", U. of Iowa, Mimeo., 9 pp. n.d.
5. Salisbury, W. W., II, "An outline for a Systematic Analysis of Statements on the Twenty-Statement Test", U. of Iowa, Mimeo, 22 pp. n.d.

6. McPartland, T. S., "Manual for the Twenty-Statements Problem", Department of Research, Greater Kansas City Mental Health Foundation, Kansas City, Mo. Ditto, 15 pp., revised version, January 1959.

The latest method we know of for coding WAI data is that of Barry S. McLaughlin. (See McLaughlin, B. S., "Identity and Personality: A Study of Self-Perceived Identity in College Students", Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., Ditto, 306 pp., December, 1965. The WAI categories are discussed on pages 92-100.) McLaughlin's categories were devised for use in conjunction with the General Inquirer computer technique. We have adapted these categories for the analysis of our WAI data. (In addition to the general analysis of our WAI data on the basis of an adaptation of the McLaughlin categories, we have presented an exploratory analysis on the basis of other approaches. See "Addendum" section of this chapter.)

ANALYSIS OF THE SELF-CONCEPT TEST: THE WAI DATA

For each of the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples in our study, the "Who-Am-I?" test was administered twice during each school year -- in the Fall and Spring. Our purpose was to find out whether there were any differences or similarities between the self-attitudes of mobile and local pupils and whether these self-attitudes changed by the end of the school year.

It should be noted that the WAI has been usually administered to adults, not to children. Whereas adults are usually asked to supply twenty statements in response to the question "Who Am I?", we asked children to supply only ten (from previous experience with this test we know that most sixth-graders find it hard to supply more than 10 statements).

In his study of students, McLaughlin devised 30 categories for coding the WAI for computer analysis.[14] He analyzed his data on the basis of the General Inquirer, a computer system for content analysis.[15] We adapted some of McLaughlin's categories for our own use, omitting those that were more applicable to college students than school children, and adding other categories that were suggested to us by the data themselves, e.g., regarding mobility and attitude towards school. We ended up with twenty categories that were classifiable under two main ones: self-commendation and self-derogation. In addition, we discovered that the WAI data had several statements that were neutral in tone, i.e., not pertaining to self-commendation regarding persons or social objects nor to self-derogation.[16] Thus our WAI data were classified into three main categories, which are:

(a) Self-Commendation: This includes outgoing personality traits; favorable attitude towards school; friendly attitude towards members of the opposite sex; and favorable attitude towards mobility.

(b) Self-Derogation: This consists of withdrawn personality traits; objectionable personality traits; poor attitude towards school;

unfriendly attitude towards members of the opposite sex; and poor outlook on mobility.

(c) Neutral Statements: This comprises statements not clearly classifiable as (a) or (b), e.g., "I have brown hair" or "I like some music and some I don't."

Approximately 68% of pupils' responses were neutral statements, 25% were self-commendations, and 7% were self-derogations.

For each of the 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples, the results obtained in the Fall and Spring testings were averaged since the pattern of responses was more or less the same. The data were then tabulated in terms of the category of response, the sex and the mobility status of the respondent, and the mobility level of the class to which he belonged. ("Mobility status of the respondent" refers to whether he is a military dependent, a P.L. 874 other federally-connected pupil, or a non-P.L. 874 local pupil. "Mobility level of the classroom" indicates whether the class is predominantly composed of military dependents, of about 50% of them, or predominantly composed of local non-P. L. 874 children. Classes composed predominantly of military dependents are called "high-mobility" classes; of about 50% of them, "medium mobility" classes; and predominantly of local children, "low mobility" ones.)

We based our analysis of WAI data on classroom groups. Initially, we compared the WAI responses of pupils from low, medium, and high mobility classes (we did that separately for mobile and local pupils). This was essential in determining whether any significant variation in self-attitudes did occur among the three classroom-groups. If any variation was found to exist, then each classroom-group was to be analyzed separately for differences between mobile and local pupils and between boys and girls. We know of no studies that deal with the self-concepts of mobile and local pupils. Nor do we know of any published studies that have used the WAI as a basis for examining the self-concepts of children (the WAI has been usually administered to adults). Hence, we cannot compare our results with any relevant literature. We have heard that Ruth Hill Useem, an anthropologist at Michigan State University, is interested in the study of the self-concepts of American children living in India and other parts of Asia, but we have not yet come across any of her findings in this regard.

We consider our WAI findings exploratory and tentative. As Ruth Useem says in her study of American Families living in India, personality types can be predictive as long as the person stays within the cultural system which has produced him. "But we could find in the highly protean culture carried by highly mobile persons little evidence for inferring that personality 'types' are long enduring".[17] The same can be said, perhaps, especially about the self-concepts of mobile children.

Our findings are discussed below. The Tables are found in Appendix "C".

Because there are very few of them in our sample, and because we have found that for all practical purposes they are local, P. L. 874 "other federally-connected children" have been combined with non-P.L. 874 local pupils in all these Tables.

On all these Tables, entries are frequencies (not number of pupils) and proportions corresponding to each category of response.

I. 1964-65 SAMPLE

A. THREE CLASSROOM-GROUPS

1. WAI Responses of Mobile Pupils, 1964-65 (Table C-1)

Table C-1 deals with the WAI responses of military dependents in classrooms where they constitute a minority, about half of the enrollment, or a majority. This Table is statistically significant, which means that the observed differences in the responses of mobile pupils from low, medium, and high mobility classes were not negligible at all. In low and medium-mobility classes, military dependents had more self-commendations than in high-mobility classes, which might indicate that pupils in high-mobility classes might be newly-arrived newcomers and thus not so sure of themselves. On the other hand, military dependents in medium-mobility classes tended to have more self-derogations than those in low and high mobility classes. In such classes where the distribution of military dependents and local pupils is about half-and-half, the status of military dependents might not be as clear-cut as in the two other kinds of classes. We know from interviews with military dependents found in classes composed predominantly of local pupils that theirs were a favored status, that some of them did not want to transfer to schools predominantly composed of military dependents because there they "just could be anybody" whereas in low-mobility classes they were "something special" (they were liked by local pupils because, among other things, they could entertain them with stories about foreign countries and exotic places they had seen).

The finding about more self-derogations on the part of military dependents in mixed mobile-and-local classes may suggest application of the WAI to a similar status situation -- that of Negro children in highly mixed Negro-white classrooms vs. classrooms that are predominantly white or predominantly Negro. The same can be said with regard to girls in classes predominantly composed of boys or of girls, or of about 50% of girls. We may be able indirectly to explore the assumption that increased self-derogation goes hand-in-hand with an unclear-cut status according to class composition when we deal with WAI data on boys and girls. This will be according to the mobility level of the class.

2. WAI Responses of Local Pupils, 1964-65 (Table C-2)

Table C-2 deals with WAI responses of local pupils in low, medium, and high-mobility classes. The insignificance of the distribution of WAI responses of local pupils was independent of the mobility level of the class they were in. There were no pronounced differences among the three classroom groups.

Since there had been some evidence of significant differences among the three classroom-groups when we analyzed our data not separately for mobile and local pupils, but for both of them together, it was necessary to explore each classroom group thoroughly and in relation to both mobile and local pupils.

B. LOW-MOBILITY CLASSES

1. WAI Responses in Low-Mobility Classes according to Mobility Status & Sex of Pupils, 1964-65 (Table C-3)

Comparison of WAI responses of mobile and local pupils in low-mobility classes (those composed mainly of local pupils) did not show any statistically-significant difference at all. The proportion of statements of mobile pupils falling under self-commendation, self-derogation, or neutral remarks was almost identical to that of local pupils. Any discrepancy observed was found to be insignificant at the 5% level.

Since no significant difference was found between mobile and local pupils, it was unnecessary to compare the WAI responses of mobile boys and local boys, mobile girls and local girls. Any observed difference would only turn out insignificant.

2. WAI Responses of Boys and Girls in Low-Mobility Classes, 1964-65 (Table C-4)

Table C-4 deals with self-concept and sex, without regard to the mobility status of pupils. In other words, the WAI responses of mobile boys and local boys are combined; also those of mobile girls and local ones.

In low-mobility classes, that is, in classes where military dependents are a minority, girls not only have more self-commendations than boys, but also less self-derogations.

Notes (a) Further analysis was done, using data that had gone into Tables C-3 & C-4. Mobile boys were compared with mobile girls; local boys with local girls. The data showed that only comparison between local boys and local girls was statistically significant. Under "self-commendation", Table C-3 shows that local girls had a greater proportion of statements in this category than local boys; also they had fewer self-derogations. This finding is also expressed by Table C-4, for the greatest majority of pupils in low-mobility classes are by definition local ones. The data for the two Tables suggest that it is local girls who think of themselves more highly than local boys.

(b) The Chi-Square for comparison of local boys and local girls was 12.668; the degrees of freedom, 2; and P under 0.05. In the analysis of the WAI responses of mobile pupils according to sex, the frequencies of the first two categories had to be pooled together since the expected frequencies of self-derogation were less than 5 and the Chi-Square statistic would not have been applicable otherwise (cf. the Yates correction). In the process of combining frequencies one degree of freedom was lost. The Chi-Square for this analysis was 0.629; the degrees of freedom, only one; and P, over 0.05.

C. MEDIUM-MOBILITY CLASSES

1. WAI Responses in Medium-Mobility Classes according to Mobility Status & Sex, 1964-65 (Table C-5)

In medium-mobility classes, the self attitudes of Mobile pupils differed significantly from those of local pupils. Mobile pupils had a greater proportion of statements directly pertaining to the self. They had both more self-commendations and more self-derogations than local pupils!

About 70% of all WAI statements made by local pupils were neutral remarks. In contrast, out of 586 statements made by mobile pupils, about 60% were neutral. (It seems that mobile pupils in medium-mobility classes tend to be more preoccupied with themselves than local pupils, perhaps the result of an unclear-cut status they have in these classes -- see comments under I-A-1.) These findings were again observed in the analysis of the WAI responses of each sex: Mobile boys had more self commendations as well as more self-derogations than local boys; mobile girls more of the same than local ones.

Unlike in low-mobility classes, the self-attitudes of boys and girls in medium-mobility classes (that is, boys vs. girls without regard to whether they are mobile or local) were not different at all. The differences in the proportions of WAI-responses between the groups were very slight. Hence, there was no need to evaluate statistically the differences between mobile boys and mobile girls, local boys and local girls. Any observed differences would likewise be very small.

For the Chi-Squares, degrees of freedom, and P's for all comparisons based on the Table C-5 data, see Table C-8.

D. HIGH-MOBILITY CLASSES

1. WAI Responses in High Mobility Classes according to Mobility Status & Sex, 1964-65 (Table C-6)

The variation in the WAI responses of mobile and local pupils was statistically significant. Mobile pupils had more self-commendations (28.1%) than local pupils (23.2%). Local pupils had more self-derogations and neutral statements.

There were no statistically significant differences when each sex was analyzed separately. Mobile boys were similar to local ones in their WAI responses; mobile girls to local girls.

The WAI responses of mobile boys did not differ significantly from those of mobile girls; nor those of local boys from those of local girls.

For X^2's, d.f."s, and P's for all comparisons based on the data of Table C-6, see Table C-8.

2. WAI Responses of Boys and Girls in High Mobility Classes, 1964-65 (Table C-7)

Boys in high-mobility classes, which are composed predominantly of military dependents, were different from girls in the way they responded to the question, "Who Am I?". Table C-7 shows that boys had fewer self-commendations, more self-derogations, and more neutral statements. Girls had the reverse, that is, higher self-esteem.

Comment: It may be recalled that in our 1964-65 Sample, girls had better achievement test scores and better grades than boys. In low-mobility classes (mainly composed of local pupils) and in high-mobility classes (mainly composed of military dependents), girls had more self-commendations and less self-derogations on the WAI than boys. This may be indicative of the link between self-concept and academic achievement -- the higher the one, the higher the other.

II. 1965-66 SAMPLE

A. THREE CLASSROOM-GROUPS

1. WAI Responses of Mobile Pupils, 1965-66 (Table C-9)

The WAI data of the 1965-66 sample were subjected to the same types of analysis as the 1964-65 sample. The WAI responses of mobile and local pupils varied significantly between low, medium, and high-mobility classes.

Table C-9 deals with the WAI responses of mobile pupils in the three classroom-groups. Mobile pupils in high-mobility classes had more self-commendations than those in low or medium-mobility classes. Mobile pupils in medium-mobility classes had less self-derogations and more neutral statements than mobile pupils in the two other kinds of classes. These findings are the reverse of those for the 1964-65 sample (see section I-A-1 in this chapter & Table C-1) and may qualify our exploratory comments. They suggest for us the need for further research to examine the classroom as a home-base for the pupil, that is, the relation between the self-concept and the status structure of the classroom.

Again, we would like to emphasize the advantage of having two samples so that the data of one may act as a corrective for those of the other. Each of our 1964-65 & 1965-66 samples serves that purpose.

2. WAI Responses of Local Pupils, 1965-66 (Table C-10)

Local pupils in classes where they and military dependents are about half-and-half (medium-mobility classes) had more self-commendations and less self-derogations than local pupils in low and high-mobility classes.

Since the self-attitudes of mobile pupils as well as local ones -- in low, medium, and high-mobility classes -- were not similar, further comparisons were made for each class-group separately. As was done with regard to the 1964-65 WAI data, the self-attitudes of mobile and local pupils, and of boys and girls, were examined separately for each 1965-66 classroom group. This is reported in the following sections.

B. LOW-MOBILITY CLASSES

1. WAI Responses in Low-Mobility Classes by Mobility Status & Sex, 1965-66 (Table C-11)

Comparison of WAI responses of mobile and local pupils in low-mobility classes did not prove to be significant. The Chi-Square statistic computed from the data of Table C-11 was too small for rejection of the hypothesis of no difference between mobile and local pupils. This finding is similar to that of the 1964-65 sample.

Observed differences in the WAI statements made by boys and girls were negligible at the 5% level. The proportions of self-commendations, self-derogations, and neutral statements were about the same for boys and girls. For X^2, d.f., and P for each comparison, see Table C-14).

With regard to low-mobility classes in the 1965-66 sample, the conclusions do not agree with those previously found for the 1964-65 sample. It was earlier shown that a significant difference occurred between local boys and local girls in their WAI responses.

C. MEDIUM-MOBILITY CLASSES

1. WAI Responses in Medium-Mobility Classes by Mobility Status & Sex, 1965-66 (Table C-12)

In medium-mobility classes, the differences in the proportions of self-commendations, self-derogations, and neutral statements made by mobile pupils and local ones were not statistically large. Nor was there any considerable difference between boys and girls in their self-attitudes. Table C-12 shows that the WAI statements were similarly distributed among mobile boys and girls, and local boys and girls.

These findings are not similar to those of medium-mobility classes in the 1964-65 sample. Whereas the 1964-65 sample showed that the self-attitudes of mobile and local pupils differed significantly, the 1965-66 sample did not point to any significant difference in this regard.

D. HIGH-MOBILITY CLASSES

1. WAI Responses in High-Mobility Classes by Mobility Status & Sex, 1965-66 (Table C-13)

In high-mobility classes, mobile pupils had both more self-commendations and more self-derogations than local pupils. Further analysis showed that the significant difference between mobile and local pupils existed only among boys. Among girls, the difference was not at all significant.

When boys and girls were compared -- regardless of whether they were mobile or local -- no significant difference was found. There were some differences in the proportions for each WAI category, but these were very slight and negligible. (See Table C-14 for statistical stigmata -- Chi-Squares, degrees of freedom, and probabilities.)

One finding is similar for both the 1964-65 and the 1965-66 samples: In high-mobility classes, that is, in classrooms where military dependents constitute a decisive majority, military dependents have more self-commendations than non-military pupils (Tables C-6 & C-13). Another similar finding for both samples is the following: In low-mobility classes, that is, in classrooms composed predominantly of civilian pupils, there is no significant difference between the self-attitudes of military dependents and civilian pupils (Tables C-3 & C-11). Thus, in sixth-grade classes where they constitute a small minority or decisive majority, military dependents seem to have as many, if not more, self-commendations than local pupils.

SUMMARY

It is useful to have two consecutive samples from which to collect the same data with the same instruments, be such instruments measures of academic achievement, sociometric relations, or the self-concept. The WAI findings of one sample act as a corrective for those of the other.

The WAI data of the 1964-65 sample showed a significant difference in self-attitudes between mobile and local pupils in medium and high-mobility classes (Tables C-5 & C-6). Mobile pupils had more statements directly pertaining to the self (more self-commendations as well as more self-derogations than local pupils). Local pupils had more neutral statements, less self-commendations and self-derogations. On the other hand, the 1965-66 sample revealed a significant difference between mobile and local pupils only in high-mobility classes (Table C-13). Again, in high-mobility classes, mobile pupils had more self-commendations and more self-derogations. In low-mobility classes of both 1964-65 and 1965-66, there was no significant difference between mobile and local pupils with regard to the number of commendations, derogations, or neutral statements they made about themselves (Table C-3 & C-11). One can venture an overall conclusion for both samples: mobile pupils, in classrooms in which they constitute a majority, seem to be more preoccupied with themselves than local pupils; they have both more self-commendations and more self-derogations than local pupils. This is not surprising, for communities of strangers tend to foster more self-examination than is entertained by natives.

In the 1964-65 sample, the self-attitudes of boys and girls (regardless of whether pupils were mobile or local) were significantly different in low and in high-mobility classes (Tables C-4 & C-7). In both kinds of classes, girls had more self-commendations than boys and less self-derogations. On the other hand, with regard to the 1965-66 sample, there were no significant differences in the self-attitudes of boys and girls in low, medium, or high-mobility classes (Tables C-11, C-12, & C-13). Since on the basis of test scores girls were better achievers than boys in the 1964-65 sample, whereas they were similar to boys in their test scores in the 1965-66 sample, one may wonder about the linkage between academic achievement and the self-concept: The better the one, the better the other.

We regard these WAI results as exploratory and tentative. To get a better picture of the similarities and differences between mobile and local pupils and between boys and girls, one has to compare them not only with regard to the self-concept but also with regard to academic achievement, sociometric status, and friendship choices (see preceding chapters).

ADDENDUM:

NOTES ON AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF THE WAI

In addition to the computer analysis of the WAI data that has been reported in this chapter, we did a hand-analysis. This analysis was an exploratory one and was concerned with the following:

(a) The first statement written by the pupil in answer to the question "Who Am I?".

(b) A categorization of the WAI responses supplied by the pupil without regard to any coding scheme available in the literature.

For these exploratory purposes, we selected 4 classrooms from the 1964-65 sample: two entirely composed of military dependents

(100%), and two entirely composed of non P. L. 874 local pupils. This sub-sample of 4 classrooms was made up of 29 military-dependent boys, 37 military-dependents girls, 32 local boys, and 27 local girls -- a total of 125 pupils.

A. OPENING STATEMENT OF THE WAI

As Spitzer and his associates maintain, " In many respects, self-evaluation is an exercise in decision-making."[18] The respondent is called upon to choose from the myriad thoughts he may have about himself only certain aspects which he considers crucial. Hence, many WAI researchers have maintained that the first statement a respondent writes about himself, the opening statement of his WAI protocal, is an important indicator of his self-evaluation. Although this notion about analyzing the WAI responses is quite popular, not many researchers have pursued it systematically or, indeed, published anything about it.

In a conversation with Professor Ruth Hill Useem, she mentioned that in using the WAI with American school-children living overseas, she discovered that their opening statement about themselves was quite often "I am an American."[19] Obviously, for the expatriate American pupil, such a statement is an assertion of his cultural identity and is indicative of an identity crisis he may be going through in a foreign environment. That "I am American" is the first statement an American child living overseas asserts in response to the question "Who Am I?" makes the analysis of the first statements of State-side American pupils quite useful. After all, the self-concept is but an organization of past social experience and the initial statement about such an organization might immediately unlock an important aspect of the self.

The opening statements of the 125 pupils in our sub-sample can be categorized as follows:

1. *Sex references* ("I am a boy" or "I am a girl") -- mobile pupils: 18 responses; local ones: 23.
2. *Personal names* -- mobile pupils: 3; local pupils: 6.
3. *Age* -- 5 & 5, respectively.
4. *Height, weight, & size* ("I am big," "I am tall") -- 8 for mobile pupils; no statements on that by local ones.
5. *Pupilship ("I am a sixth-grader") & attitude towards school and school subjects* -- mobile pupils: 3; local ones: 5.
6. *Hobbies, sports, & games* -- 10 & 9, respectively.
7. *Physical attributes, e.g., "A hansom fellow", "I have brown hair", "I am in-between in looks"* 4 & 3, respectively.
8. *Being cheerful, smart, nice, or helpful* -- 4 & 2, respectively.
9. *Self-derogation, e.g., "I am not to [too] smart* -- 4 & 5, respectively.
10. *Ethnic Group, e.g., "I am English", "I am Irish"* -- only 2 mobile pupils made statements in this

category; no such statements were made by local pupils.

11. Parental occupation (e. g., "I am a sergents [sargeant's] son" & number of siblings ("I have only one brother") -- mobile pupils: 3; local ones: none.
12. Reference to mobility. Only two statements were made in this category: One mobile girl stated: "I was born in Africa, so everyone calls me Tarzan"; another said, "I've lived in many places and I am afriad [afraid] to grow up."
13. Statements hard to categorize. There was only one such statement, made by a local pupil: "I think I am a complicated mechinism [mechanism] called a human being".

Part of the overall impression one gets from the above categorization is that in their opening statements, mobile pupils seem to emphasize their height and weight, their ethnic group, and their travels more than local pupils. On the other hand, local pupils seem to mention their personal names as a first response more than mobile pupils.

We also tabulated the opening statements by sex and mobility status and tested the differences statistically. None were significant. We also coded all opening statements as "self-commendations", "self-derogations", or "neutral responses" as we had done in the main analysis of the WAI data. Again, no differences were statistically significant. As a group, girls, however, seemed to like to start with more self-commendations than boys, especially about their looks and personality traits. But, again, the difference was not statistically significant.

We would like to comment in passing that in as much as "I am an American" as an opening statement is a datum about the American school-child living over-seas, "I am Irish" is also important about the American school-child living in America. Both statements deal with issues of identity and are indicative of a minority-group status. The former has to do with external strangership; the latter with internal one. Since, for computer analysis, we had not distinctively coded the WAI opening statement, we could not examine this and other issues with regard to all our WAI data.

In addition to our own coding of the initial WAI statements of the 125 pupils in this exploratory analysis, we coded these statements according to McPartland's manual.[20] In this scheme of analysis, the WAI responses are classifiable into four categories:

(a) Physical attributes, e.g., "I am blond; I am 5 foot tall".

(b) Social memberships, e.g., "I am on the basketball team".

(c) Feelings and Intentions, e.g., "I don't like school; I would like to play basketball".

(d) Unanchored generalizations and responses that are hard to relate to the immediate context, e.g., "The earth is round".

Most people, especially adults, make statements in the middle categories -- i.e., (b) and (c), memberships and feelings -- that center around social participation and involvement. A preponderance of statements in the extreme categories -- (a) and (d) -- may be regarded as preoccupations that are indicative of maladjustment.

According to this method of analysis, it was discovered that mobile pupils in this sub-sample had more B-and-C responses than local pupils (their A-and-D responses were about the same). Also, girls made more B-and-C responses than boys and their A-and-D statements were numerically similar. Both results were statistically significant. What this suggests is that mobile pupils in this sub-sample seem to be more socially oriented than local pupils and that the same is true of girls as compared to boys.

We offer the preceding results as only tentative and suggestive. Since there is no published literature on the WAI as applied to non-adults, our findings with regard to this sub-sample as well as to the overall 1964-65 and 1965-66 samples may be useful to researchers.

With regard to our classification of the opening WAI statements into the preceding, A, B, C, and D categories, we would like to enter a caveat:

Classification of WAI responses into these four categories is usually based on the modal response of all statements made by the person about himself, not on the basis of only one statement. Usually, each of the 10 or 20 statements a person makes is classified according to these four categories and the preponderant category is used as his score. What we have done is ignore the last 9 statements on the pupil's WAI sheet and concentrate only on the first statement as if it were his statistical "mode." We have thus combined two approaches: an emphasis on the first statement on the WAI plus the McPartland scheme of analysis.

D. A DIFFERENT CATEGORISATION OF WAI RESPONSES

In this exploratory study of the responses of 125 pupils representing two classrooms composed entirely of mobile pupils and two others composed completely of local pupils, we did another kind of analysis. We looked for dominant themes permeating all WAI statements, that is, we did a content analysis of the 1,250 statements supplied by the pupils. We did this regardless of whether a statement was expressive of self-commendation or self-derogation. When more than ten statements supplied by all the 125 pupils fell into a given category, we considered that category a "dominant theme". These categories are:

1. Like or dislike of certain foods.
2. Future occupational choice (unexpectedly, the desire to become a brain surgeon was quite popular among pupils, which may indicate that they could have seen a movie or had a class discussion on that subject).
3. Ethnic or religious affiliation, e.g., Irish, Catholic, Polish, etc.
4. Sex reference (being a boy or a girl).
5. Relations between boys and girls, e.g., "I collect models, army patches, and girls"; "I am a boy chaser"; I think boys are dumb".
6. Friends, parents, or siblings, e.g., "I have many friends"; "I have very understanding parents".
7. Attitude towards school and school subjects, e.g. "I like school very much"; "I don't like school"; "I am pretty good in arithmetic"; "I am interested in science".
8. Physical attributes, e.g., "I am blond"; "I think I will be pretty when I grow up".
9. Hobbies, sports, and games, e.g., "I am a person who likes to make model cars".
10. Qualified statements, e.g., "I am not smart, but the teacher says so"; "Smart, not the highest group though"; "I am nice (sometimes)".

In this sub-sample, these are the dominant themes in the six-grader's world, themes on which he bases his self-attitude. We did not discover any statistically-significant differences between mobile and local pupils with regard to these ten categories, but we did discover a significant difference between boys and girls. Girls had more references to school subjects and to hobbies. On the other hand, boys had more references to future occupational choices, to ethnic and religious affiliation, and to liking or disliking girls; they also had more statements that they tended to qualify, e.g., "I am nice (sometimes)".

It should be noted that with regard to this subsample, geographic mobility was not a dominant category -- its WAI statements were less than 10. This calls for investigating the effect of geographic mobility on the basis of interviews, a topic we will discuss in the next chapter.

We consider these categories only suggestive. We think that using them for scalogram analysis in conjunction with a larger sample may be a useful way of discriminating between the responses of mobile and local pupils and of boys and girls.[21] Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter; we offer it as a suggestion for future research.

COMMENT

In this chapter, we have offered several approaches to the analysis of WAI data, which,as goes for all rich and unstructured data, are open to various interpretations. For our purposes, the essential categorization has been adapted from McLaughlin's work. With regard to the WAI responses of school-children, we have found that the self-attitude can be fruitfully examined on the basis of a trichotomy: "self-commendations", "self-derogations", and "neutral statements".

Obviously, there is a link between self-evaluation and emotional adjustment. However, the literature on the relation between self-acceptance and adjustment is quite controversial. While some researchers have found a positive relationship between the two variables, others have found out that persons with high self-acceptance were more maladjusted than those with a low one! Still others have found that self-satisfaction may be indicative of defensiveness and rigidity.[22] The point is that we have no clear-cut theory to link self-evaluation and adjustment and that adjustment is, quite often, variously defined. We emphasize this to qualify the interpretation of our WAI results and to stress that if some findings are not clear-cut with regard to adults, they can be doubly tentative with regard to children. This is especially so with regard to mobile children: If the self-attitude is but an organization of social experiences, then the changing social contexts in which mobile children find themselves may be conducive to a constantly changing self-concept, a self-concept that, perhaps even more than is true of local children, is always in process and modified by further experience.

CAPSULE STATEMENT:
GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, FRIENDSHIP CHOICES, & SELF-CONCEPT
(Chapters II to V)

1. Average no. of cities in which pupils attended school, KG through 6th-grade:

(a)

Mil. Deps.	Other Pupils
4 cities	2 cities

(b)

Most Mil. Deps.	Most Other Pupils
3 or more cities	1 city

(c) Mil. Deps. are truly mobile; other pupils are not *that* local!

2. Grade of entry into school, 1964-65 & 1965-66 samples:

Most Mil. Deps.	Most of Other Pupils
Grades 5 or 6	Grade 1

3. Academic Achievement

(a) *Test Scores:*

1964-65 Sample	1965-66 Sample
Mil. Deps. better than locals	Locals better
Girls better than boys	Boys and Girls similar

(b) *Grades:*

1964-65 Sample	1965-66 Sample
Mil. Deps. better than locals	Mil. Deps.&Locals similar
Girls better than boys	Girls better than boys

Note: Girls get better grades than boys.
Mil. Dep. girls get highest grades.

(c) Age:

1964-65 Sample, Test Scores & Grades	1965-66 Sample, Test Scores & Grades
Pupils 143-147 months old are best achievers	In general, same as for 1964-65

4. Friendship Choices

Mobile Pupils & Girls	Local Pupils & Boys
More friends named beyond immediate environment; more world choices.	More friends named from same classroom

Note: (a) Extra-community choices for both mobile & local pupils are higher in the fall than in the spring. By the end of the school year, the friendship choices of both mobile & local pupils became more "localized," a triumph of adaptation!

(b) In their friendship choices, girls tend to be more cosmopolitan than boys; tend to choose from a larger environment.

5. Self-Concept

1964-65 Sample	1965-66 Sample
(a) Mobile pupils had more self-commendations than locals.	(a) Mobile pupils had more self-commendations and self-derogations than locals. Locals had more neutral statements.
(b) Boys had more self-derogations than girls.	(b) Boys & Girls similar.

CHAPTER VI

INTERVIEWS WITH PUPILS

So far, we have reported on paper-and-pencil data: academic achievement, sociometric choices, and the self-concept. In addition to these written data, we have collected oral ones from pupils. Our purpose in interviewing them was mainly to learn about their attitudes to schools they have attended and to geographic mobility.

For each of the 1964-65 and 1965-66 school years, our plan was to interview about 100 pupils -- 50 mobile and 50 local, half of them boys and the other half girls. Because of our emphasis on comparison of mobile and local pupils, we wanted to include in the interview sample (a) mobile pupils who, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, had attended school in at least three cities, and (b) local pupils who, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, had attended school only in one city. In other words, we wanted to include in the interview sample mobile pupils who were truly mobile, and local pupils who were fully local. In addition, we wanted to include pupils who would represent the three classroom groups we have: classrooms where military dependents constituted a majority, a minority, or were about equal in number to local pupils. We thought of relating the interviewees (both military dependents and local pupils) to social contexts in which they were a decisive majority, a very small minority, or in-between. Peer relationships and issues of incorporation and adjustment of oldtimers and newcomers could then be highlighted with reference to the social structure of the classroom.

In so far as the number of children available for selection for the interview sample on the basis of the aforementioned criteria permitted, within each classroom-group the number of military-dependent boys and girls and of local boys and girls were to be evenly distributed among the 10 or so classrooms constituting the classroom group. When, within a classroom, more qualified military-dependent boys or girls were available for selection than were actually needed, the requisite number of boys or girls was randomly selected from the class. However, when more qualified non-P. L. 874 local boys or girls were available for selection from a classroom than were actually needed, preference was first given to those boys or girls credited with the least number of schools attended. When more qualified local boys or girls than was needed still remained after this criterion was imposed, the requisite number was randomly selected. Because some pupils might not be in school on the day of the interview, or might be absent for more than a week, we took the precaution of selecting alternates for our interview sample.

For sampling purposes, this was a complicated interview design. In some classes where military dependents or local pupils were only 6 or 7 boys and girls (classes called, respectively, "low-mobility" and "high-mobility" classes in previous chapters), there was a very limited availability of qualified children for the interview sample. Because of such situations, we had to adapt our sampling criteria to what was actually available for selection.

In 1964-65, we decided not to include in our interview sample P. L. 874 "other federally-connected" pupils (in the overall project's sample, they were few in numbers; for all practical purposes, they were as local as the non-P.L. 874 pupils). However, in 1965-66, we included a few of them in the interview sample of that year as a variety of local pupils.

1964-65 PUPIL INTERVIEW SAMPLE

In 1964-65, our interview sample consisted of 88 pupils: 22 military dependent boys; 22 military dependent girls; 22 local boys; and 22 local girls. The criteria for inclusion in the interview sample were the following: (a) each military dependent (mobile pupil) to be included was, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, to have attended school in at least three different cities; and (b) each local pupil to be included was to have attended school in not more than one city. These criteria established that each "mobile" child in the interview sample would, in fact, be more mobile than each "local" child.

In addition, we had to fit our pupil interview sample to the three classroom groups we have: Group I, where military dependents constitute zero-7% of classroom enrollment; Group II, where they constitute 14-49%; and Group III, 50-100%. The total interview sample of 44 boys and 44 girls was to be evenly distributed, by sex, among the three classroom groups. In so far as the population of children who met our selection criteria permitted, the pupils in our four sub-groups in the interview sample (military dependent boys, military dependent girls, local boys, and local girls) were evenly distributed among the ten classrooms comprising each classroom group. Because of the limited availability of military dependents meeting our selection criteria in Group I of our classrooms (4 boys and 3 girls), only 3 boys and 3 girls could be selected from Group I.

In short, the pupil interview sample -- a stratified random sample -- has been selected on the basis of (a) classroom groups containing zero to 100% military dependents; (b) military dependents with a very high, vs. local pupils with a very low, mobility between schools of different cities; and (c) the sex of pupils. Table I-1 shows the distribution of pupils selected for the interview sample.

TABLE I-1

1964-65 PUPIL INTERVIEW SAMPLE:
DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY CLASSROOM GROUPS

Classroom Groups*	Mil.Dep. Boys	Mil.Dep Girls	Local Boys	Local Girls	(Totals)
I	3	3	12	12	(30)
II	7	7	7	7	(28)
III	12	12	3	3	(30)
	22	22	22	22	(88)

*Group I: zero-7% Mil. Deps., 10 classrooms.
Group II: 14-49% Mil. Deps., 10 classrooms.
Group III: 50-100% Mil. Deps., 10 classrooms.

1965-66 PUPIL INTERVIEW SAMPLE

In 1965-66, our interview sample consisted of 94 pupils: 23 military dependent boys; 25 military dependent girls; 6 other federally-connected boys; 5 other federally-connected girls; 20 local boys; and 15 local girls. The pupil interview sample was selected so as to be, more or less, evenly distributed by sex among the three classroom groups we have: Group I, where military dependents constitute zero-7% of classroom enrollment; Group II, where they constitute 14-49%; and Group III, 50-100%. (Group I consists of 10 sixth-grade classrooms; Group II, of 11; and Group III, 7.)

In addition, in selection of the pupil interview sample, an attempt was made to select pupils whose geographic mobility -- as defined by the number of different cities in which they had attended school -- would be representative of all pupils in our 1965-66 sample. Consequently, although the majority of "local" children (i.e. non P. L. 874) who were selected for interviews had attended school only in one city, several "local" children who were more mobile (i.e., with school attendance in two or more cities) were deliberately included.

Because of our basic interest in the schooling careers of pupils -- with their "rites of passage", or stages of entry into, and departure from, groups -- we also selected for interviews a few pupils who had very recently arrived from another school system or who were soon expecting to be transferred to another district. Such pupils, we thought, would enable us to understand in vivo the human situation of the newcomer as well as that of (to coin a word) the "oldgoer" (the leave-taker). We would thus be able to study the career contingencies of the erstwhile oldtimer who has recently become a newcomer and of the current oldtimer who is about to be made into a stranger. In other words, we would be able to examine two aspects of the same process, or the transition facets of group membership. In this respect, geographic mobility can be assumed to be a situation of strangership, associated not only with physical distance but also with social intensity. Interviewing of recent newcomers, and of oldtimers-on-the-move, would -- though these pupils in April of 1966 were few in number (9) -- illuminate for us, we hoped, some features of social anchoring and marginality in their schooling experiences and the linkage of these experiences with their academic achievement and school behavior. This is part and parcel of our interest in the larger issue of what the school does in enculturating mobile as well as local pupils.

In short, with the exception of the above-mentioned 9 pupils who were either recent newcomers or were expecting to be transferred to other districts, the rest of the 94 pupils in our interview sample were selected on the basis of (a) classroom groups containing about zero to 100% military dependents: (b) the number of cities in which pupils attended school, and (c) the sex of pupils. Table I-2 shows, in relation to classroom groups, the distribution of pupils selected for the interview sample.

TABLE I-2

1965-66 PUPIL INTERVIEW SAMPLE:
DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY CLASSROOM GROUPS

Class-room Group*	Mil. Dep. Boys	Mil. Dep. Girls	Other Fed. Conn. Boys	Other Fed. Conn. Girls	Local Boys	Local Girls	(Totals)
I	2	4	2	2	10	8	(28)
II	8	10	3	1	5	5	(32)
III	13	11	1	2	5	2	(34)
	23	25	6	5	20	15	(94)

*Note: Group I: zero-7% Mil. Deps., 10 classrooms.
Group II: 14-49% Mil. Deps., 11 classrooms.
Group III: 50-100% Mil. Deps., 7 classrooms.

A comparison of the geographic mobility of the pupil interview sample with that of the total sample of pupils in our project in 1964-65 and 1965-66 may be useful. In 1964-65, the number of pupils who filled out our "Schools You Have Attended" form was 803. Of these, 290 were military dependents; 513 "local" children (non-P. L. 874 combined with P. L. 874 "other federally-connected" pupils). We found out that the 290 military dependents had, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, on the average (the arithmetical mean) attended school in 3.77 cities; whereas "local" children had, on the average attended school in 1.44 cities. The difference between military dependents and "local" children in the average number of schools attended in different cities was a difference of 2.33 moves.

In late May, 1966, we administered the "Schools You Have Attended" form to all the 1965-66 pupils who had not previously (in December, 1965) completed it. By the close of the 1965-66 school year, we had returns from 880 pupils. Of these, 409 were military dependents, 94 were other federally-connected children, and 377 were non-P. L. 874 (or local) children. We found out that the 409 military dependents had, from Kindergarten through the sixth-grade, on the average attended school in 3.80 cities; whereas other federally-connected children had, on the average, attended school in 1.70 cities, and non-P. L. 874 "local" children had attended school in 1.79 cities (the civilian federally-connected children were even a bit more local than the non-P. L. 874 "local" children!). The difference between military dependents and "local" children in the average number of schools attended in different cities was a difference of 2.01 moves; between military dependents and civilian federally-connected children (that is, between the two kinds of P. L. 874 children), 2.10. (The average mobility figures for military dependents and non-military dependents in our samples of 1964-65 and 1965-66 were quite similar. For more details, see Chapter II.)

Whereas for our 1964-65 pupil interview sample we omitted P. L. 874 civilian federally-connected pupils and included only non-P. L. 874 pupils who had had their schooling careers only in one city, in 1965-66 we not only included P. L. 874 civilian federally-connected children but deliberately selected non-P. L. 874 pupils who, from kindergarten through the sixth-grade, had attended school in two or more cities (i.e., pupils we have usually referred to as "local" ones but some of whom, though few in number, were quite mobile). Tables I-3 and I-4, for example, deal with the 1965-66 pupil interview sample.

Whereas, for each pupil category, Table I-3 indicates the geographic mobility of boys and girls separately, Table I-4 combines them. Table I-3 shows that the average number of schools attended in various cities is higher for military dependent boys and girls than it is for (a) other federally-connected boys and girls, or (b) local boys and girls. Table I-4 shows that, on the average, military dependents have attended school in 4.1 cities; whereas other federally-connected pupils have, on the average, attended school in 1.3 cities, and local pupils in 1.5 cities. These mobility figures for the pupil interview sample are similar to those we have for the total number of pupils in our 1965-66 classroom sample; they reflect the same relationships. It can be added that whereas the average number of cities in which all of the 880 sixth-grade pupils in our 1965-66 sample attended school is 2.71, that for the 94 pupils in our pupil interview sample is 2.76.

TABLE I-3

1965-66 PUPIL INTERVIEW SAMPLE: AVERAGE NUMBER OF CITIES IN WHICH PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL -- BY SEX, PUPIL CATEGORIES, AND CLASSROOM GROUPS

	Categories & Sex of Pupils						
Class-room Group*	Mil. Dep. Boys	Mil. Dep. Girls	Other Fed. Conn. Boys	Other Fed. Conn. Girls	Local Boys	Local Girls	(N)
I	4.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.4	1.6	(27)
II	3.7	3.3	2.0	1.0	1.2	1.4	(32)
III	4.7	5.2	1.0	1.0	2.2	1.5	(32)
	(23)	(25)	(6)	(5)	(20)	(15)	(94)

*See "note", Table I-2.

TABLE I-4

1965-66 PUPIL INTERVIEW SAMPLE: AVERAGE NUMBER OF CITIES IN WHICH PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL -- BOYS AND GIRLS COMBINED FOR EACH PUPIL CATEGORY AND CLASSROOM GROUP

Classroom Groups*	Mil.Dep. Pupils (N=48)	Other Fed. Conn. Pupils (N=11)	Local Pupils (N=35	(Overall Means)
I	2.8	1.0	1.5	(1.6)
II	3.4	1.8	1.3	(2.6)
III	5.0	1.0	2.0	(3.9)
Overall Means	(4.1)	(1.3)	(1.5)	(2.76)

*See "note", Table I-2

OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Both in 1964-65 and 1965-66, we used an open-ended interview guide. We tried to encourage the interviewee to proceed with his own thoughts and select his own emphases and definition of his situation. This way, we hoped to allow for emergence of unexpected data.

Our purpose was to look at things from the point of view of the interviewee and to obtain naturalistic data. Since our interview guide was not a structured checklist, we did not ask the interviewee to respond to every question in the guide nor to all segements of a question. We considered our questions, whether simple or compound, open-ended. The question was only indicative of a topic which we liked the interviewee himself to define in his own terms; the question was an initial stimulus for conversation, not a test item. It is for this reason that we had refrained from breaking a compound question into neatly-labelled units or turning its segments into independent questions. Indeed, we used the term "interview guide", rather than "interview schedule", to emphasize that it was not a structured checklist and that the interview itself was in the nature of a conversation in which the interviewee felt free to expound on a given topic as he deemed fit.

Our interview questions were only an attempt to foresee the boundaries of a topic; the category labels we used were only a matter of convenience -- convenient for the interviewer to remember. Our questions were interrelated; during the interview, some questions would be asked or answered before others; some categories might receive more emphasis than others. The interviewer was requested to concentrate on the categories of schooling career and attitude towards mobility, making sure that by the end of the interview at least one question was asked in each of the remaining categories.

In 1964-65 and 1965-66, we used basically the same interview guide. In 1964-65, we first pre-tested our interview guide in a school district that was not included in the project. This way, we could rephrase some questions to bring them closer to the world of the sixth-grader. Also, we omitted some questions that we discovered were not that meaningful. As a result of our interview experience in 1964-65, we further refined our interview guide for 1965-66. In this regard, we were helped greatly by including as a final item in the interview guide a question specifically about the questions the interviewee may have liked or not liked and the reason for his like or dislike. (For a copy of the Pupil Interview Guide, see Appendix D.)

The categories of questions we used were the following:

1. Schools Attended (Schooling Career).
2. After-School Activities.
3. Formal & Informal Rules at School.
4. Peer Relationships:
    - (a) Newcomership.
    - (b) Friendship Formation
    - (c) Indices of Adjustment (Incorporation)
    - (d) "Claiming" or Sponsorship of Newcomer by Teacher or Pupils.
5. Teacher-Pupil Relationships.
6. Attitude towards Geographic Mobility.

Interviews with pupils lasted from 30 to 45 minutes, but were mostly about half an hour. All interviews were taperecorded. The interviews were held in school; the schedule for seeing pupils was worked out with the school principal and teachers. Interviews were conducted in the spring of each school year.

ANALYSIS OF PUPIL INTERVIEW DATA

All interviews were transcribed, coded, and indexed. We made sure that in indexing we did not over-index and segment but stayed close to an overall category.

In the transcription of interview tapes, we discovered that some portions of some interviews were not clear, that the voices of some pupils or an interviewer faded. Fortunately, this did not involve questions pertaining to the two basic categories in which we were interested: schooling careers and attitudes towards mobility.

At first, we did a preliminary pilot analysis of a stratified random sample of 24 interviews: 12 from 1964-65 and 12 from 1965-66. The actual content of the interview was explored. A set of categories for analysis was developed, summarizing the range and type of this content. Our assumption was that the information in the pilot sample would reflect what was found in the larger interview sample.

In the pilot analysis, we were guided by the lead questions used and the general purposes of our project. The categories which were thus developed for this analysis then served to structure the content and range of all interview data.

In the pilot analysis, we did not discover any basic differences between the 1964-65 interviews and those of 1965-66. Hence, we would like to treat the 88 pupil interviews of 1964-65 and the 94 ones of 1965-66 as a unit. Obviously, there were gaps in these 182 interviews with regard to information on particular questions -- gaps related to the style of the interviewer, the propensity of the interviewee to expound on some questions and not others, and to unclear transcription. Some pupils gave more detailed accounts on some topics than others; some did not supply adequate information at all. This situation is quite familiar to researchers.

In the pilot analysis, we discovered some differences between the attitudes of boys and girls, for example, with regard to mobility. We did not discover many significant differences between the responses of pupils from the three types of classrooms: those where military dependents (or locals) were a majority; those where they were a minority; and those where they were about evenly distributed. Nor did we discover any differences between the responses of P. L. 874 civilian federally-connected pupils and non-P. L. 874 local pupils.

It should be emphasized that in the analysis of pupil interview data, we are interested in general trends rather than in reporting whether a given attitude is true of only one pupil. Hence, typical rather than isolated responses will be discussed.

PUPIL INTERVIEW DATA:

The content of the interviews is interrelated. The following categories are only a matter of convenience in sorting out the data.

A. Attitudes towards School & School Work

Like New York, school is many things to many people. To sixth-graders, it is essentially subjects to take, homework to do, and the place where their friends are. Several pupils, both locals and military dependents, commented that the change from the 5th to the 6th grade was more crucial for them than the change from the 4th to the 5th. Girls were more articulate in their responses than boys. Whereas boys emphasized that the sixth-grade was harder for them than the fifth because of "new math", girls emphasized that the sixth-grade was a prelude to harder things in Junior High: "The sixth-grade is a transition between elementary and Junior High. Teachers tell you short cuts because in the seventh-grade you don't have as much time as in the sixth." Also: "Most of the subjects are more complicated than they were in the 5th grade because in the 5th grade they (the teachers) explained what they were talking about and, like in geography, you have to unscrabble what they are trying to talk about." Or: "School work is more difficult this year than it was last year. There are more reports to do and the math is harder." A contrary opinion is: "Sixth-grade is mostly a review of all subjects that you've learned. I think science and English are the only subjects that you learn more of, things that you didn't know in 5th grade."

More local girls said they liked school than any other sub-group. A typical school day is "kind of a soft going thing, because school seems so short ..... Work has been fun in class so the time goes kind of fast." Or: "I like just about everything about school, except I could do without all the science and math. I'm looking forward to taking home ec in Junior High. They'll teach me how to cook and sew, and we'll have 4-H." On the other hand, more local boys said they disliked school than any other sub-group. More local boys said that the best thing they liked about school was recess or "inner days" when they helped the teacher. More local boys said they disliked the volume of homework ("homework takes more of your fun time; I'd rather be playing or watching TV") and disliked assembly. Several local boys said they disliked "filler assignments", those done just to take up rest of period or as punishment for forgetting their books. Some local boys emphasized they liked the morning best "because we go to art and we get to talk a little... Most of us look forward to recess!" Both military dependent boys and local boys said they liked Wednesday best "because it's gym day". However, local boys and girls and military dependent boys and girls said that Friday, the last day of the week, was their favorite day "because I don't have to do my homework until maybe Saturday or Sunday". For children, school is an awful imposition! Homework is more annoying than school work "cause after a whole day of school you have to go home and have more work".

Some military dependents who had attended school in Germany said they liked school in the U. S. because they liked eating in a school cafeteria and riding buses. Some military dependents who had attended school in California said they liked it better in New England because now they had a two-story school whereas the California schools they had attended had all been ranch-style one-story schools. A few military dependents who had attended school in several places and did not like the way teachers treated them said they liked their present school. "This year we are not considered stupid. We have to do a term paper this year. We have to do our own work". They said they liked their sixth-grade teachers because they assigned long, comprehensive reports to class and gave them about three months to work on them. They enjoyed this because they could work on their reports whenever they wanted, during class or at home. Other military dependents said they liked their present school "because it makes you feel so pleasant, because it is new and makes you feel like working". Three military dependent girls said they liked best the school they attended the previous year in New Jersey because the 5th grade was part of Junior High (grades 4-8) and thus felt they were more grown up! Three other military dependent girls said they liked their fifth-grade teachers in Georgia and Alabama because they "used to write notes to kids in other schools and have pen pals and visit science museums". Two military dependents, a boy and a girl, said they did not like their present schools because they were naturally left-handed and were made to change, that penmanship was a problem for them. Three military dependent girls said they did not like their present schools because they had to give oral reports and speeches and they usually "get nervous standing up and everybody staring". Two military dependent boys said they liked their present schools because "teachers don't push you around anymore".

Twenty-two military dependents and local pupils said they did not like to have only one teacher for the sixth-grade. "I like moving from class to class, not seeing one teacher all the time. I don't like to get stuck with one teacher." "You don't get so bored and you can fool around more." "I like to move around in school. I don't like to stay in one room because I get bored." A typical sixth-grade response, especially for military dependent girls, is "I like it when you don't have to stay in the same room for every subject."

Several girls, both military dependents and locals said they did not like tests, a category not mentioned by boys. "I s'pose they have to have them but they're always so funny. I mean, of all the things you know about something, in a test there's only going to be a few questions.... They just show maybe that you don't know the things it asks." "I don't like tests. I get all shook up and I miss about 2 or 3 questions, but I pass."

Some military dependent girls who had attended the fifth-grade in the same school said that they were bored with school at times because of repetition of material: "Like when we have kids who are absent and we just learn something new and they come in; because they were absent, we have to go over the whole thing."

Practically every school subject was mentioned at least by five pupils as being liked or disliked: reading, spelling, English, social studies, math, science, art, music, history, geography, gym, shop, library. More girls mentioned that they liked art and music than boys; more boys mentioned they liked gym and science (" a lot of experiments are fun"). More local girls than boys said they liked English, e.g., "I like English, especially compositions, because it helps you do things that you want to, like write stories and things".

More pupils, especially military dependents, said they liked social studies rather than disliked them. Those who disliked social studies were mainly local pupils. Some of the typical comments of dislike were: (a) "social studies -- it gets kind of boring; it's too hard; (b) "I don't like social studies when you have to study foreign countries"; and (c) "I don't like social studies; I would like to have a course in Zoology, if you could make any changes, because we should learn about life, not just the life of people in different countries the way we do in social studies, but about the life of animals." (It should be noted in passing that sixth-grade girls are fond of animals, especially horses. We know from our visits to various schools that a goodly number of sixth-grade girls love to draw horses. For sixth-grade girls, the horse is the favorite animal to decorate one's notebook with!) With regard to those who said they liked social studies -- mostly military dependents -- the following comments were typical: (a) "I enjoy films in social studies"; (b)"I like social studies mostly when they do foreign countries and ancient history"; (c) "I am bored with social studies when it gets repetitive, otherwise it's fun; I am sick and tired of learning about the United States -- I'm glad we are now learning about foreign countries for a change"; and (d) "In social studies I like contests and making reports".

Math seems to be an intensly disliked subject at the sixth grade level: 48 pupils specifically said they disliked it; 8 they liked it. Military dependents, especially girls, were more vehement in their denunciation of "new math" and "modern math" than local pupils. Those who liked math said simply they liked it; those who disliked it were more articulate. Typical comments were: (a) "I like modern math, except sometimes I don't understand a single thing (said humorously)!" (b) "Math is the worst; I don't like it; math isn't too much fun." (c) "Modern math is O.K. but it doesn't make too much sense (laughter)! You wonder why you have it, 'cuz you can't see any use for it." (d) "I don't like modern math; I usually like to stick to the plain adding, subtracting, and dividing." (e) "Math is the worst because (long pause) .... I can't have people talk to me and understand it. I have to read it about ten times to understand it." (f) Simply "Math gets me." (g) Four military dependent boys specifically mentioned that school would be immensly improved with elimination of math, e.g., "I don't know why but I just can't get adjusted to it. I hope at least they'd have a different kind of math instead of this modern math."

Among military dependent boys who liked gym, some said that kids should have more latitude in gym, be able to play basketball, not forbidden as in some schools because of slight danger involved as teachers say. Girls said they liked gym except for tumbling.

Some boys, mostly local, said, 'Most of us look forward to recess". Some local girls said they liked recess because they and their friends could write letters to various pop music groups. Nobody seemed to dislike recess.

B. Attitudes towards Teachers

More girls than boys talked about their teachers. The girls' comments were more detailed than the boys'.

For children, school is essentially a good teacher: "School is all right because I like the teacher"; "when kids say they don't like school, it usually means they sorta don't like the teacher." As one interviewee put it, when he and his friends talk about school, "usually we talk about the teachers and what happened in the classroom". The teacher is the focus of attention and conversation among children; he or she makes the difference between a good and a bad attitude towards school. "If someone says they don't like school, it usually means that the teachers are, well (pause) mean. If the teachers are nice, they'd like it. Maybe the teacher is nice if he just wants to be nice."

Observers of schools quite often marvel at the "verbal dossier" that teachers compile about each child and pass on to one another. By the time a first grader gets to the sixth-grade, the sixth-grade teacher knows all the hearsay of relevant facts about him. In the same way it can be said that children have a "verbal dossier" on every teacher in the school and pass it on to one another; they, like the teachers, have also been expecting an encounter. As a perceptive sixth-grade girl put it, "When kids talk about school, they don't say anything about school. They talk mainly about the teachers. And I know the teachers talk about us, because we talk about them ... Some of them like school depending on the teacher, if they get homework or not, or if the teacher seems to be nice, or strict, or very athletic or willing to do more different activities.... They usually don't like school because they are behind in the work they do, and they don't catch on as easily. They blame it mainly on the teacher, though it's not the teacher's fault; it's their own."

How do sixth-grade pupils characterize teachers? "There are 3 kinds of teachers: (1) 'learn or else', for example Mrs. M--- she's very pretty and not good. (2) 'freedom teacher' who lets you get away with everything. This is not good because you don't learn anything. (3) The 'in-between' like Mr. B who you learn from but who isn't petty; he is a 'good guy'." Older teachers are not easy to fool: "Mrs. C, Mr. B, and Mrs. M have been teachers for a while and are 'on' to the tricks most kids pull". "Individual differences" -- a favorite term among teachers, something they learn to drool over in Education courses, something they pride themselves in being professional experts on, and something that they think is only applicable to children -- is recognized equally well by pupils as equally applicable to the teachers themselves: "Among teachers there are differences in individual understanding and what they expect from you". Several pupils volunteered similar statements.

The teacher is considered a production manager as well as a jail warden by some pupils. "If you want to please a teacher, you do all your work." Regarding rules in class, "you are supposed to be quiet and obey exactly what he says or he gets very angry and he punishes. And since he is a man, he's kinda strict. Yeah, you have to be obedient and to be quiet when he asks, and sit down and raise your hand, and don't yell out all the time. But I sometimes do." "With Mrs. R, if you're not behaving it usually means you're not doing your work either, so she gets angry at you about both things. Doesn't get quite as mad if you're goofing off but have finished your work. Usually it's the kids that haven't finished their work that goof off -- so there are certain people she gets mad at most of the time... And she gets mad when everybody crowds up around her desk and wants her to look at something... She gets mad 'cause it makes her nervous... I can see why Mrs. R gets mad. For some reason she sort of has to, because of the way the kids act, but for some reason this doesn't go on in Mrs. W's room -- I think she's got her class all ordered and everybody knows the rules. Way back at the beginning, Mrs. W gave her kids a lecture on how they should behave: no talking most of the time, and no laughing, and you can get up and walk around only at certain times. They have fun, but everybody knows you can only have fun at certain times and not at others or you'll get in trouble. I think in Mrs. R's room, a lot of the time you don't know when you can talk and when you can't, and so people get in trouble for doing things sometimes, and other times they don't for doing exactly the same thing." Other pupils have mentioned that their teachers do not come to class with ready-made rules at the beginning of the year, rules for production and behavior, but that they devise rules "after things happen" in the classroom.

Some pupils have described their teachers as being "like an eagle" when it comes to catching a misbehaving prey: "Yeah, sharp eyes like an eagle, when you are doing something wrong." "Mrs. C has sharp eyes and can tell if you're talking or chewing gum. She catches everybody." Or, "Mrs. W sometimes looks at you, out of the sides of her eyes: that means 'you better watch it'."

What do sixth-graders think of men teachers vs. women teachers? "Mr. K -- he's rough with the boys and real gentle with the girls." Another girl said about the same teacher that he "doesn't like the boys picking on the girls, but he doesn't mind the girls picking on the boys, because he hates the boys to be bullies... With a girl, he's gentler than he is with a boy. With a boy he'll make them hold heavy sets of encyclopedias; yet, sometimes he'll make the girls stand up by their desks and he'll send the boys to a corner. He doesn't do it very often". Many pupils said that when it came to having women teachers rather than men teachers, they had no preferences, that "any teacher is really for girls and boys". Some girls, however, thought that classes were more afraid of women teachers than men teachers. A few military dependents, both boys and girls, who had attended parochial schools said that they were afraid of nuns -- "they'd punish you for everything you did wrong" -- and that when they moved to other schools they were glad. These same pupils said they preferred to have men teachers because they were getting tired of "lady teachers". Two local boys said they liked women teachers, especially if women teachers played both soft and hard ball with pupils. Three military dependents said they preferred women teachers because "you can get away with more stuff if the teacher is a woman." Three local boys said that women teachers were better for girls, men teachers for boys. In this regard, one respondent put his ideas haltingly: "Yes, if the teacher's a woman, and the girls are going to be women when they grow up, the teacher's got a lot to talk to the girls about, 'cause they've been girls themselves and they know how girls are, and they can understand each other and how girls are, and how they got that way. A woman teacher with boys is a different thing: she doesn't understand them like a man does". Some military dependent boys would like men teachers to show authority: "you can't fool around at all in Mr. P's class because he's too rough with you. Everybody thinks he's mean but he isn't that much meaner. He just handles the class better".

Five military dependent girls compared teachers to their parents. "Mr. H is nice; he's pleasant. He likes to make the kids feel like he was friends with them. And he fools around with you and all that; he plays outside with you and all that. I really don't think he's a teacher until he starts teaching..... So he's like part of your family or something; like your parents." "At home, I'll argue with my parents but I wouldn't think of arguing with Mr. P. I guess you act differently at school, and some kids who are real good at home, they can be just awful at school." Two other girls said simply that their teachers were like their parents, strict or nice as the occasion demanded it. The fifth girl stressed the similarity between parents and teachers in making kids realize that they could contribute to their own success or failure. "...Tests get me down, and so out on the playground we start arguing and have fights and things like that, just like if you were in the neighborhood, just like if you were at home. Your teacher is your parent, and you get in trouble, and you allowed it (said emphatically)."

Mondays and Fridays seem to be demarcation lines for the teachers' moods. "My favorite day is Monday. The teachers have just come back from their vacation, and they're always lax, and they don't yell at you as much when they're all tired on Mondays (said emphatically) and all that, and it's much easier you know... Fridays they're all grouchy and everything, and Mondays they're all, they're nice. Wednesdays, they're all, well, they're okay, I guess."

What are the characteristics of the sixth-graders' favorite teachers and unfavorite ones? Among the characteristics mentioned is fun-loving and attentiveness to children: "She's my favorite teacher -- I had lots of fun after school playing the guitar. She gives us free lessons. During class in 5th grade, she used to take out her guitar and sing." The amount of work the teacher gives is a direct index of her likeability; some pupils like best teachers who give the least work. In addition, pupils like teachers who let themselves "go" once in awhile, what sixth-graders call "fooling around once in awhile". "A good teacher? You have to be strict but not too strict. They should allow you to goof off a little bit, but not too much -- a little bit. I'd rather have a little fun instead of all work." "The nice teacher? They take us out for kickball sometimes, and they help you understand things. I think they're all hard. They really try to help you." "The ideal teacher? ....You could have a joke once in awhile." Some pupils mentioned that they liked teachers who made school work personally relevant and who talked about their own experiences -- "I like my teacher because she talks about the things she did when she was our age; she tells us about her dogs and cats." Other pupils mentioned they liked teachers who watched and talked about their favorite TV programs, considering that an index of the teachers' popularity. Permissiveness is another characteristic of the good teacher; the good teacher won't really enforce certain rules. "A good teacher has a good sense of humor; otherwise they are mean." Also, a good teacher is the one who plays football with the kids and "he'll tell us jokes that we can tell the other guys". A sixth-grade girl summed it up this way: "Some teachers are grouchy and only care about homework and assignments. The ones I like are understanding and try to get the real you into the work." Another said, "...Teachers give you the art of living".

How do sixth-grade children characterize teachers they do not like? Some pupils do not like teachers who show favoritism towards others, including a daughter the teacher may have in the same class she teaches. Teachers who "sit on" some kids are not liked: "I don't get along with Mrs. C; she gives me a hard time and I give her a hard time." Also, sixth-graders do not like teachers who are "one of the strictest about the rules", nor teachers who give "meaningless assignments just to fill up a period or keep kids busy; it's petty this way". Also, "I dislike Mrs. M because she never gets off the subject, never jokes, is always talking". Teachers who assign a lot of homework are especially resented, even if they keep on saying "it will help you when you are older". Teachers who are over-solicitous on the playground are shunned. "Kids don't usually respect a strict teacher because they just think they're old crabs and everything ("and everything" seems to be a self-evident damnation with sixth-graders). Obviously, "Kids are very sensitive to teachers' moods".

What is a "strict teacher"? She may be the one who has a nasty tone of voice, who assigns a lot of homework, or who is "all business and no fun". "She's got such a strict voice; she just looks at you and you jump a foot; if she talks to you, it really scares you." "In Mrs. N's room you see right off that everybody's sort of looking around, and everybody's having fun talking around. In Mrs. B's room you feel the difference right off. Before she even says anything, you can see there is nobody fooling around or goofing off. You sort of feel that it's one of those places where it's always work-work-work." Some pupils seemed to like strict teachers, saying "a strict teacher can be good because she forces you to learn more".

Sixth-graders resent teachers who preach to them. "I don't like her. She's always saying you have to get a fairly good education to get into college, and you have to be ready, have to be smart, be able to use your abilities and mind and all that stuff. Our teacher -- she keeps preaching to us about this. She tells us over 'n over, and she talks a half hour every day. That's one thing we don't like about the teacher:

other teachers do it in the regular way, but she's got to be different and have some way of her own." "Mrs. M yells and always gives us lectures for about 15 minutes, and then blames us for wasting time." "She makes a couple of big lectures, but just about little things. Nobody really cares anymore."

What's a mean teacher? "She would throw things at you, and kick you down the stairs, and yell at you." Or, "she puts me on the spot, so I'm in trouble a lot".

Quite often, there is implicit or explicit hostility between functionaries and clients. Teachers label pupils as "slow learners", "maladjusted", and so forth, but what about the complementary culture pupils have? What about their labels and nicknames for teachers? "When the cool kids don't like a teacher, they say they're a fink or a so-and-so or they're at Dullsville. An un-cool person would say, 'Well, I don't care for her that much'. Or they wouldn't say anything bad and maybe they wouldn't think it -- the un-cool kids, I mean." "Most people call Mrs. M 'Lead Bottom' because she gives too much homework, but I like her okay." "Some people think Mr. V talks too much; they call him all sorts of names like 'Bubble Brain' and 'Mr. Big'."

The basic complaint of sixth-grade pupils is that teachers yell at them. "Mr. P is nice, and he isn't too hard, and he doesn't yell"; "Mrs. C screams, and just turns red, and everything"; "the teacher -- he's nice and helps you with your work and all that; but when he yells at you, you don't feel so good." A typical sixth-grade compliment seems to be:

"My teacher -- I think he's real nice, and he doesn't yell hardly, and he doesn't lose his temper; he's okay". Or, "I like my teacher because she doesn't holler so much and she doesn't get upset about little things; I don't know (giggles); well -- she's just nice." Or, "Mrs. F doesn't yell no matter what happens. I don't think it's wrong that Mrs. R does; I think she has to because the kids act different with her, but when everybody's noisy, and then she yells -- sometimes I just want to put my hands over my ears and hide!" Yelling seems to be a method of control that some pupils expect: "Miss J was a new teacher.... She couldn't scream very much, because she had a real soft voice; and she couldn't scream at you, because if she started yelling at you, you wouldn't be able to hear. So everybody would misbehave and everything. And if she tried to send us to the office, they just talked back to her...And she tried". "Mrs.M, I think can be a creep sometimes...; she screams at us"; "I dislike my art teacher; she is always yelling at us"; and "I don't like it when teachers scream a lot and turn all red". Again, a compliment about a teacher is "she doesn't yell at us all the time"; a routine sixth-grade perception is that "teachers yell at you if they don't like you". We counted 108 statements about yelling as a bad trait of teachers; this was the worst trait in a teacher to which sixth-graders in our interview sample objected!

Sixth-graders seem to like a lively classroom atmosphere but not too much liveliness or too much quiet. Many pupils compared various sixth-grade classrooms in their schools and seemed to like the right kind of commotion, neither too much nor nil. "You walk into our room, it's like going to a New Year's party; you walk into Mrs. D's room, and it's like going to a funeral; you just sit there."

We would like briefly to put two of the above-mentioned points into a sociological context. (1) In his classic work on the sociology of teaching, Willard Waller maintains that the essential characteristic of interaction in the school is ceremonious fighting.[1] Potentially and actually, according to Waller, superiors and subordinates are natural enemies; in the school setting, it is teachers and pupils. This means that when the chips are down, both pupils and teachers know which party is on which side of the authority line. Such tension between unequals in authority may explain the verbal dossier teachers and pupils maintain on one another, their mutual labelling and categorization, and their starkly inter-dependent and complementary roles. (2) In his work on the culture of teachers, Dan Lortie maintains that one of the fundamental sources of shame among teachers is anger.[2] This may help to explain that the teachers' yelling and show of uncontrolled emotions is not only objectionable to pupils but also to the teachers' themselves. After all, teachers incessantly stress the virtues of "self-control" to pupils; the discrepancy between what teachers preach and what they practice is apparent in the responses of a sizable number of our sixth-grade respondents.

What kind of teacher do pupils on the move, military dependents, like? They, like other pupils, remember the school on the basis of the teacher's treatment of them. "I liked a little better one of the teachers in Puerto Rico in the 4th grade; she was real nice; she taught us Spanish after lunch, and took us out for extra field trips." Another girl mentioned the current sixth-grade teacher she had: "He's particular about me because I'm slower than anybody else in my reading class. I don't like to rush through my reading because I don't like to fail in reading, so I take my time and read right through to the finish, and I hurt both of my eyes. So he's been watching me and helping me -- the (previous teacher she had) never did that". "I had 2 favorite teachers. One was in Colorado. Her name is Mrs. Young. She loves children,and I got along with her pretty well. And I had a teacher and she had the same name as I did. She was Mrs. Davis... I think she was really my most favorite teacher. We used to go on field trips... I really don't remember the places we went to, but we used to go to all places and she used to make that pretty fun. She didn't give us too hard work, yet she didn't give too easy either, and the hard work was really easy to catch on to." "My favorite teacher was Mr. C. here in the 5th grade... He was much younger than the teachers are now... I really liked him the best because he always did things like I wanted to do, like write a note to the President." "I like this school the least: you get into more trouble here because there's all men teachers, practically. The men teachers -- they hit you when you do something wrong" (said by a boy). Other military dependents, especially girls, said that it was not good to have the same teachers two years in a row "because she'd think you are always going to be average (said with a trace of disappointment)." Two girls who had been to more than 6 schools said they stayed back in the 4th grade "because so many of the schools taught different and the teachers did not know you". Other comments by military dependents on teachers are not different from those made by local pupils and had been incorporated into this section without special designation.

How are newcomers treated by teachers? "Mr. K is very kind to scared newcomers, but he lays down the law if the newcomer seems to want to take over the world" (said by a local girl). "When there were a lot of newcomers coming in, just before winter, I guess it was bad for the teacher, 'cause when we were getting all those people, Mrs. R would get in sort of one of her bad moods, like she didn't know what was going on and you couldn't bother her" (said by another local girl). "Well, if you're new, all teachers are nice, but Mr. Y is especially nice, and he understands other kids' problems. He knows how we feel about school" (said by a military dependent girl). "I mean she's the one who can make a bunch of guys strangers, if she's always coming in and breaking it up when you are cracking jokes and having fun" (said by a military dependent boy who had attended only the sixth grade in his present school). "By planning the idea of how the classroom's gonna be like, that's a big difference... He sorta let newcomers know what is it going to be like" (said by a local boy).

"well, if you didn't know the rules, teachers wouldn't criticize you, but if they know that you know the rules, then they'd criticize you" (said by a military-dependent girl).

What do sixth-graders think of substitute teachers and of student teachers? "Class is sometimes different if substitute looks like a stiff teacher: We are all quiet as can be, and we do everything 'cause he looks so strict" (said by a local girl). "Well, I guess the substitute wouldn't tattle on anyone because she wants the kids to like her, to get on... She doesn't want to be bad with all the kids and all that. She's new; she wants to make good and all that" (said by a military dependent girl). "I don't like substitute teachers and I give them a hard time... The substitute is better off if she tries to do things the way a regular teacher does" (said by a local boy). With regard to student teachers, we had the following comments: (a) "I don't like student teachers because they are boring" (local girl). (b) "Student teachers sorta act like regular teachers since they're going to be a teacher soon; they want to get respect from the kids" (military dependent girl). (c) "With a student teacher things are different. I look out the window more -- not listening to her. Other kids whisper more and laugh at the student teacher" (local girl). (d) "Usually student teachers are crummy, old, and bossy". (local girl).

C. Attitudes towards School Rules

In one particular school in our sample, a school from which we had interviewees both in 1964-65 and 1965-66, children, because of overcrowded cafeteria facilities, have only 15 minutes for lunch. A rule of silence is imposed by the principal and teachers; no child is allowed even to whisper during lunch. Consequently, sixth-grade children in that school have developed an elaborate non-verbal language of glances, grunts, winks, hand-signals, and posture by which to communicate. Watching them communicate that way is almost like watching the inmates of a monastery, a Buddhist lamasery, or a maximum security prison. The greatest majority of sixth-graders interviewed from that school objected vehemently to that rule of silence. "If I could set up my own school, I'd have rules that you might change. Like if you were in the lunchroom, I think they shouldn't make the kids just sit there and just eat their food. They should be able to talk. Not yelling and screaming and all that, but whispering so they have a little pleasure eating their food. I don't like to sit there and just eat my food, I like to talk" (Mil. Dep. girl). "There is one very strict rule (in the lunchroom) and that's no talking, and I don't obey that so good (laughter). Mrs. G (the principal) says 'you only have a short time to eat; use it to eat, and not to talk'. I don't agree with that, because I'm always finished five minutes beforehand" (Mil. Dep. girl). "We can't talk in the lunchroom. And well, that's fair I s'pose... Mr. D (the teacher) says that somebody would talk and then get too loud, and then somebody else would have to yell for somebody else to hear them, so it would really be too noisy. We only have 15 minutes to eat, and he said if we talked, you know, you'd talk quite a bit at lunch and you won't have time enough to eat... It doesn't make sense; I find it hard to eat and not talk" (local girl). Other military dependents, both boys and girls, objected to the rule of silence in the lunchroom. Two local boys and one military dependent girl said they did not find it hard to keep quiet in the cafetorium: "You get everything eaten"; "is not hard to do"; and "you're really supposed to eat and not talk". Three military dependent girls said they found that school stricter than others they had attended: "Here, there are not many privileges, and you have to be quiet a lot; less freedom".

It can be said that schools are mainly run for the comfort of administrators, not clients. A pupil even needs passes and permits to go to the library or the toilet. Here again, because of their experiences in various schools, military dependents could employ a comparative approach; they, more than local pupils, objected to some of the formal and informal rules set up by teachers and principals. "We can't run in the playground unless you have permission to. I think that's kind of silly. Because if there's a fire or something, do you have to go ask someone for permission? (laughter). But, when I first went down I was running around and all that, and some of the kids would say 'Don't run unless you want to get in trouble'. Uh-uh (emphatically) I'm running, I think that's silly, but I'm catching on now and I see why they don't want people running because people get banging into other people and cause accidents" (Mil. Dep. girl). Another military dependent girl said about her school, "I don't like it. I can't go on the hardtop in the snow (pause), and that drives me mad". Regarding the adaptation of the newcomer to the various school rules, other military dependents said they had to be cautious in this regard, e.g., "Nobody's perfect, so we watch our step, what we are doing, and make sure that we try to obey the rules, not be careless, and keep trying" (Mil. Dep. girl). Four military dependent boys said that their New England schools had a lot of rules (compared to other schools they had attended) and that these rules got broken and were not to be taken seriously. "Rules on the playground are okay except for fighting. Where else can you fight if you can't fight on the playground? (laughter." "I enjoy fighting in school, because you get out of work... I'm punished often for breaking the rules. There are a lot of rules; they get broken." Others had a dissenting opinion: "I have not yet 'emphatically) had to take a letter home (a form of punishment) for breaking rules". "The rules are fair: if you didn't obey rules, he (the teacher) couldn't teach the class." A goodly number of local pupils as well as military dependents saw rules as a method of maintaining order. More military dependent girls emphasized that they wanted to keep out of trouble: "Always do what the teacher says and you keep out of trouble. I sometimes do what the teacher says (smiles)."

Some local boys emphasized that they know the rules whereas some military dependents said they had to discover them. "In the 5th grade, we didn't have to write down a set of rules, we just knew them, we could guess them... He (the teacher) never really told us any of the rules; we could just figure them out by the way he acted." Some local boys said they'd get in trouble for "talking and stuff like that when you join in the fun; not that you really get punished, but they don't like you to have too much fun." "Some rules are okay; others are stupid... Not being able to talk in the lunchroom, not being able to play games they (teachers) say are 'dangerous' -- like snowball throwing and hardball -- not being allowed to leave the playground, not being able to talk during tests... I s'pose not talking in class is a good rule so work can get done." Other local boys mentioned that they liked the general trend towards more responsibility in the sixth-grade, that rules allowed them to do more work, and that this was part of a generally greater latitude allowed them also at home -- "freedom with responsibility given to you as you grow up"! Others were ambivalent about rules, saying that some of them were necessary or fair, others not. Some mentioned that they did not like lunchroom restrictions -- e.g., not being allowed to leave before finishing, and not being able to shout and have fun -- not being able to chew gum when they liked to ("because you can get it all over the place, I think, I don't know; I don't know why we can't, but Uh-umm, you have to stay after school if..."), that they'd have to be careful in throwing spitballs ("because someone might tell the teacher and you'd have to stay after school"), and that they did not like the teacher to assign seats because they'd like to be free to move near their friends.

Some well-motivated pupils said "If you stay out of trouble, don't talk, and obey rules, then you can get an 'A' in conduct", and that it was unfair to have everyone in the class punished if only one person broke the rules. Their definition: "Rules are things to be obeyed so you don't get in trouble". Others shrugged off the question of rules, saying that they usually draw during classtime, "that even though you're not supposed to do things, we do them, and we get in trouble". Others perceptively said, "We have pretty good rules but no one obeys them" and "if they (teachers didn't make these rules, half of them wouldn't be broken"! Some local pupils emphasized that they did not know what most of the rules were, but military dependents did.

Some military dependent girls resented class monitors who were appointed by the teacher to be law enforcers; they resented the monitors acting as intermediaries between them and the teacher and their arbitrary powers. "When the teacher goes out of the room, she leaves someone in charge; a girl takes the boys' names and a boy the girls' names. Last time, Jeffrey who's in charge of girls -- he put down my name and Tracy's name for nothing. Well, Ken was going to hit me... I just backed up so he wouldn't, and he put down my name, and I got a demerit... I don't like that... The class president and vice-president were chosen to write down names."

D. Past & Present Schooling Experiences

1. Some Choice Definitions of School by Sixth-Graders

In general, sixth-grade girls seem to like school better than sixth grade boys. This is true of the majority of both military dependent girls and local girls. More boys than girls had an ambivalent attitude towards school; more made neutral statements or outright damning ones. Many girls made such statements as "school is nice", "I like it very much", or "I would attend school even if I didn't have to". The neutral statements were such uncommittal ones as "school is all right I guess". Some expressive definitions of school by sixth-graders are the following:

(a) School is where my friends are. "I like school to be with my friends, really".

(b) The utilitarian view. "School is to help you get to college so when you get out of college you can get a good job and make a lot of money and support yourself and your family." "Nowadays you can't run away like Huckleberry Finn; you have to have a job."

(c) "School is good because I get 'A' in conduct." "If you don't go to school, you're not gonna be smart."

(d) "Most people won't go to school if they didn't have to." "I could go to school 6½ hours every day if I didn't have homework."

(e) "If I had a choice, I don't think I'd go to school. It's a waste of time." "I don't like school, and I know a lot of kids who hate it."

(f) "School is all right -- Some things aren't fun. There aren't enough recesses." "Nothing good happens in school -- not enough time to fool around."

(g) "School is rotten. I don't have any other words for it; I just have horrible words for it. Some teachers yell at you or it's boring, so it's no fun."

(h) School is like prison. "School is like prison... They give you work and all, just like in prison." "Kids are generally more (pause) ... more serious by 6th grade so they don't regard school as a prison anymore"; "school gets better as you get older" (getting used to one's prison walls!). "School is okay (pause). There's nothing good about it. You have to do what you are told. It's no fun." "I don't see what's important about school at all... School is boring; it restricts what you can wear and what you can do." "...'Time Watch' on Friday. Last period on Friday almost everyone watches the clock." "Sometimes when you didn't do anything, the teacher would keep you in for a recess." "In first grade, when the teacher used to go out of the room, you had to put down the names of those who were talking and fooling around, and sometimes he'd be your best friend and you had to put his name down even though you didn't want to" (an experience vividly remembered by several boys in the sample).

(i) "School is how you like it and you don't like it." "Whether or not school is fun depends upon people in class as well as the teacher."

(j) "School is not for enjoyment but for learning (said emphatically)... School is too much studying."

(k) A "developmental" note by a budding sixth-grade psychologist (local boy): "I think kids go to school so early... 'cause by 8th or 9th grade, they couldn't care less about their studies... You might as well let kids play while they are still young and want to... If you didn't begin school until people were 8 or 9, I think it would be better."

(l) "School is a place where you learn to meet other people, to communicate with other people... Most important thing about school is learning" (Mil. Dep. girl).

(m) "The most important thing you learn in school is getting along with other people, 'cause you have to be around other people all your life... I learn how to make new friends" (local girl).

(n) The sixth-grader as an educator (local girl): "School is more than reading books and learning academic things; it's making friends and doing things in groups. Dull things can become interesting when done in groups. Most important things about school are the people you walk out knowing and the things you walk out knowing... Like the importance of yourself being a citizen of the United States... Learning about others so you know about life."

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(o) Other "developmental" notes. (1) "I don't think it's a bigger jump from the 5th to the 6th than from the 4th to the 5th; I think it's about the same. (Interviewer: "Is it any better or any worse to be in the 6th grade than the 5th?") I think it is harder (giggles) and Uh-um...better; I know I like my teacher a lot... It depends on what kind of a teacher I have" (Mil. Dep. girl). (2) "Well, it's the same as really 5th grade, only you're one grade higher"(local boy). (3) "It is different than 4th grade because most of the material in the books haven't been used before. The 6th grade is a step towards high school" (local boy). (4) "every school has room with roughnecks: In 4th grade, my room; and 5th and 6th grade in Mr. T's. Grades 1 to 3 are none; you are just not that way... They are too young" (local boy). (5) A note on "professionalization" of pupilship at the sixth-grade level: "When we were younger, we used to have more fun with games. Subjects were more fun... Before, we had fun; I don't know, we collected things from our stories... Now you can't be creative: You just have to do what they tell you. Like before, you know, like when you write about a topic, you can do anything you want about it, but now you have to do exactly what they say (said with a trace of bitterness in her voice)" (local girl). (6) "I like it better this year (compared to 5th grade) because no one yells at me; Mrs.

M is nice" (Mil. Dep. girl). (7) "I like it better this year because I can move around during the periods (less physical coercion and staying put in one place all the time)" (Mil. Dep. boy). (8) "You have to learn to grow up in a hurry when you change to 6th from 5th, but I did it when I changed from 3rd to 4th. I was mixed up completely on how to act, and we acted like children when we were supposed to act like grown-ups. When I went from 4th to 5th the same thing happened. From 5th to 6th everything changed completely. 'Cause when I went from 4th to 5th and I added 2+2 I came out 4, and over here I add 2+2 and it comes out 6. It's the new math and geography, history and English and stuff. Everything changes. Like if you interview a 4th grader or 5th grader before the modern math happened, you would find out a lot of difference" (local boy). (9) A sixth-grader's theory of learning and of odd vs. even grades: "School is a place where you can learn things. They're taught to you whether you learn or not (emphasis). But you can learn things there. It's really just to teach you from the mouth of life, I guess you'd call it... The even grades are the grades you really get to learn in except for 1st grade and kindergarten. But the in-between grades, the odd grades are really when you're checking up on what you've done before... 'To be successful in school?' It doesn't mean you have to really get good grades, but it's when you take in and use what you've learned, really (pause) ... And when you don't get too many people in trouble too often" (Mil. Dep. boy).

2. The Schooling Careers of Military Dependents (Differences between Various Schools Attended)

Military dependents exhibit a built-in comparative point of view, for they have had the experience of having to begin life again so often as strangers in new school surroundings. About 75% of them in the pupil interview sample liked their New England schools better than other schools they had attended; 20% were non-committal or neutral ("school is school wherever you go"); and 5% liked former schools better or were downright hostile to their New England experience. Again military dependent girls were generally more articulate in their responses than boys. It may be that because the sixth-grade represents a higher maturational level than former grades, pupils tend to like the schools in which they attend such a higher grade more than those in which they had attended lower ones; they may prefer the present to the past. Data on differences between various schools attended can be summarized as follows:

(a) A general evaluation of various school systems.

"We've been several places. This (New England school system) is fairly good, and a higher class, and it's fun... The one in Alaska was a fairly old school, but they had a good system. The one in Dayton -- they were behind here, and the one in Kansas was about up with you, only they have pre-kindergartners... The difference was either in the building itself; the real difference was in the school system. Some places had kindergarten, and some places didn't. Montgomery had a very good system, but the schools were awful... You had to go along very fast... In Dayton, the schools were slower... And in Kansas they were almost at this level. They were really the best" (boy).

(b) "'Difference among schools?' Well, the teachers and the building itself. Some of them are old, and rebuilt, and all that. Most of rules and things are the same -- you know, no talking and things like that" (girl).

(c) Differences between public schools, Army Schools, and parochial schools. "I like this school (in New England) better than all the other schools I've been to (Germany, Washington, and Utah) because it looks nice and because all the others, except the one in New Jersey, were Army Schools. I am tired of Army Schools" (girl). "Of all the schools I have gone to, I liked (Army School) the least... I couldn't really understand what they were teaching; they could explain it to me a thousand times and I wouldn't understand what they were saying" (girl). "I was in a Catholic school before, and we had to bring our own lunches, and we had to bring milk which was 10¢... And this school (in New England) has more room, and the other had a real tiny building, and this school has less people, because we had 40 people or 50 people in the classroom, and now there's only about 26. That's a lot... I like this school better" (girl). "I was in first grade in Texas and the teacher was very nice for a Catholic teacher, because most of the teachers in Catholic School will punish you all the time" (girl).

(c) Differences between experience in New England public schools and other schools. "School here is fun, but I miss Japan a lot because back there we had a man teacher, and we had longer recess period, and there were more boys. School was easier. There wasn't the new math. Subjects like math, social studies, English, and science, were different" (girl). "We had more recesses in Hawaii and liked it because you could run off excess energy. Over here everyone isn't as friendly (emphasis). Here girls think it's big to have girl friends; in Hawaii they didn't care. In Hawaii I definitely liked school there better... When you were new, people helped you... (resentful of girls' cliques in present school)" (girl). "Last year I had too many teachers here (the teacher died and there were many substitutes). I hardly learnt anything... I liked school in Alaska best... Had many friends" (girl).

"I liked the school in Charleston best because it's nice and hot down there. It was a nice school and in the back we had a big playground. I liked the school in Philadelphia the least because the playground was cement instead of grass and it was in the middle of the city, and lots of cars would go by"[3] (boy). "California schools are realy easy. When I first came here, I was behind in my work. I didn't know that much, and I got E's and stuff, but I brought the marks up on my report card and I caught on in about a month or two... In New Jersey, they (teachers) were real strict, and it was kind of hard... We had 2 recesses last year; this year only one" (girl). "School in Cuba was good because you had longer recesses and after school everyday, you'd get to go to the pool" (boy). "In New Jersey, they always liked to fight, and they were always picking on you -- both girls and boys" (girl). "I have also been in school in Baltimore and New Jersey... I liked the one in New Jersey best because they had the 4th grade in the Junior High (grades 4-8 together)" (girl). "I have lived in 14 states and Canada. I went to school in everyone of them... I never counted the number of schools I was in. The school I liked best was in Virginia where (unlike the present school) you changed classes. You didn't have to have the same old teacher everyday... There were 3 teachers, and it was easier" (girl). "In New York, it's not the same way. You talk whenever you want to when you are in the cafeteria, at school or anything. Because in New York they pass you not because you're smart, not because you're stupid, but by your age... It doesn't make any difference to them if you're smart or look dumb, you just pass. They get rid of you" (girl).

(d) Positive, negative, and neutral comparisons between present and previously attended schools. More than half of the military dependents interviewed mentioned that the present New England schools they were attending were "stricter" than previously attended schools, that they had to study harder. Some said that "they teach a little different" in their present schools; many said that it was only in New England that they first encountered modern math and never liked it. Others liked being able to "move around" in school, to switch classes, and thus encounter many teachers daily rather than, as previously, be "stuck" only with one teacher. Six pupils mentioned that they liked the longer lunch periods they now had in school and that they were delighted because these were the only schools they had ever attended that had cafeterias in them. Four mentioned that they now had more privileges, e.g., field trips; three said that they had had more of these privileges at other schools. Many mentioned that their current sixth-grade teachers were nicer than any they had known; five said the current teachers were nastier; that the teachers "yelled and screamed at you" more than in their previous experiences, and that they had to get their parents to see the principal and teacher so that they'd "lay off". Typical statements were that the current teachers "didn't push you around" and that most of the pupils got along with their current teachers more so than they had done before. Some mentioned that their current teachers preached to them incessantly about getting their school work done, whereas teachers in other schools did not overdo it in this regard. Several pupils mentioned that they "got a better break" when they came to New England. "School is different this year. Last year (in another state), anything you did you got in trouble for. Like if you did something wrong on the playground, you'd have to stay in for a couple of weeks but here you just have to apologize and say you won't do it again, and you won't get into too much trouble" (boy).

Some pupils mentioned that in attending different schools, they encountered different letter grading systems (e.g., E, G, F -- for excellent, good, and failure -- rather than A, B, C, D, F) and that this at times was either amusing or confusing to them and their friends. Others commented on the fact that they had started French in the 4th grade in other schools, but that their present schools do not have French until the 7th grade. Four said that in other schools, they did not have gym and liked having it in their New England public schools. An interesting comment is the following: "They pray here (in New England); we never prayed in our other school (out of state)... And they sing every day; we don't (here) -- sometimes we sing, sometimes we don't" (girl).

Eleven pupils mentioned that they felt lonesome, that at the previous schools they had attended, they "knew everybody there", that there were more kids to play with and share interests with ("the time went faster, I knew everybody there"). Three girls mentioned that they liked their present schools because they met again some of their former friends, friends they had attended school with in other places. Several pupils mentioned that their present teachers were helpful to the newcomer, assisting him get adjusted to school and classmates, helping him after school and in recess. A few said that they began to like more classmates than before, formerly only having one or two friends.

Some pupils had comments on their social status in the classroom, e.g., (1) "School is different, cuz last year I was the oldest in class and could boss others around"(boy). (2) "This year, we are divided into smart groups, medium groups, and unsmart groups; and then, well, you are on your own most of the way this year, but last year they (the teachers) stuck around a lot... We had no grouping at that school. This year, classes are different: all the 'wise guys' are in the unsmart group" (boy in "smart" group). (3) Two pupils mentioned that at their former schools, they were among the very few military dependents in class. That gave them a special prestige, for they could talk knowingly about other states and foreign countries they had visited -- something that impressed both local pupils and teachers; when they moved to their present schools where most of the pupils in their classes were military dependents, they were considered ordinary, one among many experts on other cultures and places. They lost status. Two other military dependents mentioned the same phenomenon in reverse; the move to schools where most of the children were local gained them a higher status.

Some girls mentioned that they liked their present school best because it had more men teachers. Some boys had a contrary opinion, e.g., "I liked the school in Newport best because, I don't know, I got along with the teacher better. I like this one the least because it's harder and you get in more trouble here, because most of the teachers are men. You get away with more stuff with women... The men teachers -- they hit you when you do something wrong."

E. The Society of Kids at the Sixth-Grade Level

It can be said that school children have a society of their own, a social organization based on an authority structure, shared understandings or culture, and a variety of roles. Like all human societies, children's society, like adult society, is a group of competitive sub-groups forming a temporary balance; it is an unfinished society, never complete, always in process.[4] It is dependent on age, physical size or prowess, sex, and the academic ability group to which the school assigns the pupil. If traditional societies are said to be stratified by age, sex, and kinship, then the pupil's ability group is a sort of latter-day academic kinship!

In the school, the lives of children are focused on two social arenas: the classroom, and the playground. The former bestows academic privilege; the latter, peer-group honor. No person going through school as a child can forget his performance either in the classroom or on the playground and, similarly, that of his classmates. In his novel, The Road Back (Der Weg Zurueck), Eric Maria Remarque (author of All Quiet on the Western Front), talks about the reminiscences of a war veteran who returns to his small hometown in Germany and remembers, among other things, his school days. One of the returning soldier's most vivid memories is of Hans, the "King of the playground" who felt lost and without prestige in the classroom. In the same manner, we can identify among sixth-grade children not only a "King of the Playground" but also a "King of the classroom", and in the same way, a queen of the playground or the classroom. Obviously, the playground as a kingdom, and the classroom as a kingdom, may not be under the jurisdiction of the same ruler or rulers.

Both the classroom and the playground may look quite different when studied from the standpoint of pupils rather than principals or teachers. In this project, we have essentially focused on the viewpoints of the "natives of the situation" -- pupils rather than teachers.

The interview data on the society of children can be summarized as follows:

(1) Children's Groups. Sixth-grades are aware of loose-knit as well as close-knit groups amongst them. They mentioned classmates who "hang around together", "stick together", "do things together", "play together", or "are going steady". "There are 5 different groups (in class) that play together and stuff". "The group is a big thing; there's one in every homeroom... The group you're in, it depends on who's room you're in. If you're not in the group, they don't want you to play." "Carol, Linda (pronounced in New England, Linder) and Susan are all sort of bunched together." The unaffiliated need group sponsorship to participate in games: "Sometimes you let a guy play even if he's not that good: like Larry W.,

he's real funny and we always let him play when he wants to... Some kids we don't want to play: Frank G., he's always fooling off; he doesn't know how to play."

Pupils identified "girls who play with girls from other classes", or boys. They quite often talked about the career of play-groups; who was friends with whom at first, who later on joined, who left, and how the playgroup finally stabilized. Several pupils, especially those in classes composed predominantly of military dependents or of locals, estimated the stability and fluidity of their play-groups; about three-quarters of their classmates always played together, one quarter or so did not. Play seems to be the basis for formation of sixth-grade groups; hardly a pupil mentioned study groups!

Several pupils alluded to the fact that quite often playgroups were a reflection of membership in the same ability group. "We have 6 different groupings for both English and science: pilot kids in higher groups, good groups, average groups with different teachers... Kids in more advanced groups play together. Usually your friends tend to be with you, you know; they're all the same range you are... Debbie, Teresa, Peggy, and Donna all seem to stick together because they're the girls that went into Mrs. M's room (low ability group)." "School separates kids into 3 classes: fast learners, middle group, and average. Paula says it is an advantage to move to the higher group and a disadvantage to move lower. Higher classes are not harder; they do the same things only cover them faster. Higher groups go on field trips; lowers don't... She really wants to be with me (higher group) because we are friends." In addition to stratification by academic achievement, some pupils mentioned stratification by fighting ability, that the "meaner guys" formed their own group.

Military dependents and local pupils are members of the same play group; there is no division on the basis of civilian pupil vs. military dependent. Except for some newcomers who initially huddled together for protection or withdrew from playground involvement, playgroups were integrated in this regard. For local pupils, what was important about the military dependent was what kind of person or classmate he was -- whether he could participate in sports or live up to the teacher's expectations; for teachers, whether he could do the work.

Although some playgroups had fluid memberships, others were cliques (called "gangs" or "our bunch" by sixth-graders). Pupils could easily identify playground and classroom cliques (they were the same; playground interaction spilled into the classroom, and vice-versa). Cliques, like fluid playgroups, ranged from 4 to 10 members. As is well known, there is always tension in triumvirates, trinities, and triads; hardly a pupil mentioned a three-person group that was a going concern (one or two mentioned a triad as an earlier form of a larger group or a prelude to a pair). Several pupils mentioned that members of close-knit groups, or cliques, loved to pass on notes to one another in class and under the nose of the teacher -- a form of maintaining solidarity and a follow-up of playground interaction!

Four cliques had specific names: The "Cool Group", the "Gory Boys", the "Mean Guys," and the Voodoo Club". These cliques, like all sixth-graders' groups whether fluid or close-knit, were either all-boy or all-girl. It seems that in school -- as sociograms, interviews, and observations show -- sexual bifurcation, with very few exceptions, continues unabated until the seventh-grade. The "Cool Group" is an all-girl clique; the three other cliques are all-boy ones.

The "Cool Group" is composed of 4 girls, 2 local and 2 military dependents. "They hang around all the time, and they go to block parties... When they see a girl they don't like, they start getting nasty, and start swearing and stuff." When they do not like a teacher, they usually invent a nickname for her. They use a different type of language to differentiate themselves from the "uncool" kids and take a different stance towards the teacher. This clique remained a tetrad throughout the school year. They tried, once in a while, to recruit additional members, but did not succeed. "They were trying to figure out why Martha (Mil. Dep. girl) didn't want to be in their group... 'Cause everybody thought she was really cool, and she's so pretty, real beautiful, but nobody got along with her. They played with her for a while, but I think she was too thoughtful and too quiet -- she was always wanting to read a book and stuff at recess, and she didn't like talking about other people."

Whereas the "Cool Group" is essentially a gossip network, the "Gory Boys" are more action oriented. This clique is, again a tetrad (a 4-person group), composed of 3 military dependent boys and 1 local one. "The 'Gory Boys' love to draw a lot: planes crashing, superjets, battleships." On at least two occasions, they tried to hurt other children on the playground, which explains the origin of their name, "Gory". "They get in a great big line with their hands in locks, you know, and they all dashed out and just ran over a pile of girls and boys. One they hurt real bad, and one kid got his shirt all torn up and everything, 'cause their foot got stuck in his shirt when they were dancin' up all over him! And it was really horrible." Although the Gory Boys were punished for their misdemeanors, their name stuck to them through-out the school year. Their playground cruelty was quite often directed at girls, an instance of the usual war between boys and girls at the sixth-grade level.

The "Mean Guys" was also a four-person group composed of 2 military dependent boys and 2 local ones. They loved to tease and fight with others on the playground. They had a reputation of "not doing their homework and of playing around during school".

Unlike the other cliques, which were composed of 4 members each, the "Voodoo Club" had from 8 to 10 members, mostly military boys. It was not restricted to one sixth-grade room (like the three other cliques), but drew its membership from two rooms. "The 'Voodoo Club' is a secret club... I'm not a member, but I know who's in it..." Sixth-graders in that school had many groups to belong to: "The group is a big thing; there's one in every homeroom:... If you're not in the group, they don't want you to play." They looked upon the "Voodoo Club" as just another social club or clique, just more cohesive than other groups and meeting, unlike most other groups, quite often after school.

(2) Competition between Boys and Girls. Children's groups at the sixth-grade level are bifurcated by sex. Only occasionally does a boy play with girls on the playground. Sixth-grade mores are against sexual integration. "Sure, boys get together in groups; girls get together in groups." "Girls play with girls... The boys kind of spread all over the place; they play Dodge Ball and stuff... All boys play together." Usually, a special corner of the playground is reserved for girls but such sphere of influence

is quite often invaded. The boys' territoriality seems to encompass the entire playground. Teachers -- and girls who fight back -- sometimes restrict the boys to specific playground locations.

There are very few boy-girl friendships, and these do not usually find expression on the playground. "The girls don't go around with the boys. The girls have their own leaders... But a few of the boys go over and listen to records with the girls: Billy, Jerry, and me."

It is the consensus of sixth-grade boys that girls' groups tend to be smaller than boys'. We have, nevertheless, found large girl groups, composed of 6 to 10 members. One group, composed of 8 girls, was -- according to other interviewees from that class-- specifically interested in "boys, clothes, and looking pretty". At the sixth-grade level, it is the girl who chases the boy, not vice versa. As is well known, this is because of earlier maturity. By the seventh-grade, the chase pattern begins to be reversed.

Some boys, however, are mature enough at the sixth-grade level to act as bridging leaders between boys' cliques and girls' cliques. Theirs, however, has to be, not an individual but a group response, for the clique as a whole determines who makes friends and who is acceptable. "If a boy likes one of the girls that the gang likes, then he can easily get into it and be liked. If the boy likes you (a girl), then you can make friends. And sometimes the boy doesn't like you, and then you can't make friends with any of the boys" (Mil. Dep. girl).

Obviously, playgroups are sometimes after-school study groups. Several members of girls' playgroups mentioned that they got together "to do a lot of extra work that the others don't". Military dependent girls seem to be more industrious than boys.

"The boys say the girls talk more, but they talk about the same" (local girl).

Among sixth-grade girls, boys have a reputation of being rough and of getting into trouble. "The boys in our class are rough, 'cuz they're always going down to the principal's office and always staying after school the longest of anybody in the whole school" (Mil. Dep. girl). "Boys get into more trouble than girls; girls are shier" (local girl). This, however, does not mean that sometimes girls do not fight, especially among themselves. Interviewees, both boys and girls, mentioned a number of fighting girls in their classrooms. Some girls identified a boys' group composed of 5 members as "that group which defends itself in playground combat against the girls in our class"! Several girls mentioned that they quite often fought with the boys even in the classroom, that they always found mutual excuses to fight with one another also during breaks and at lunch. Developmentally, as is well known, the "tomboy" type of girl is not a rare sixth-grade phenomenon.

(3) Sixth-Grade Roles of Boys & Girls.

Teachers usually categorize pupils into various social types, but how do sixth-graders classify one another? What are the social types among them?

More sixth-graders mentioned negative roles than positive ones. The former mainly centered around being disruptive or withdrawn; the latter on being good in school work or sports. In their frequency of mention (from most to least), the social types among the sixth-graders can be summarized as follows:

(a) The Troublemaker. "Richard got into lots of trouble. He always didn't do his homework, and he made big excuses, and he got the class in trouble lots of times" (Mil. Dep. girl). "I used to have a lot of fun with

Richard and Bill (Mil. Deps.) before they left. Rich and I used to take snow and shove it down kids' backs, and used to have fun" (local boy). "Dennis (local boy) always writes on his desk and always gets into trouble... Sometimes he throws his pencil around, talks back to the teacher. Sometimes he doesn't do his work; just sits there and says he can't do it. And it annoys Mr. D. and he gets mad" (local boy). Several pupils identified classmates whom they called "people that cause a lot of commotion"; they especially emphasized that the trouble makers were particularly effective with substitute teachers. Sometimes teachers punish the whole class if a single pupil does not do his homework, hence the following sigh of relief: "Bobby has not done his homework so often that the rest of the class doesn't get punished anymore when he doesn't do it" (local boy).

Troublemakers, with rare exceptions, are boys rather than girls. They sometimes put tacks under unsuspecting associates, talk back to the teacher, or throw spitballs and get the class in trouble. Co-optation sometimes does not work: a teacher who helped a troublemaker get elected as class president found that high office did not change the boy's antics!

Some boys are identified as "those that make trouble"; others as "those who would get into trouble". Troublemakers are not especially liked by their classmates. Some pupils had remarks about the classroom career of the troublemaker and how he quite often falls out of favor, because "he's kind of a wise guy... he's not so much fun now" (local boy). As long as the troublemaker is entertaining, he's tolerated -- especially if he takes on the teacher; once the teacher imposes collective punishment, the troublemaker loses favor. The demerit system seems to be effective: "Carl has 48 or 50 demerits -- he talks out of turn and he's rude. Stanley, Jeffrey, Bobby, and Jim have most demerits. Ken's catching up. The class is quieter now" (Mil. Dep. girl).

(b) The Clown or Entertainer. This is a variety of the disruptive child, the troublemaker. Some girls are found in this category, although it is generally a boy's specialty. Clowns are liked by their classmates, for they help break the humdrum and, at times, oppressively boring classroom routine.

"When Larry is supposed to get up and recite a poem, he'll sing words that aren't there... Peggy passes papers around when things get boring" (local girl). "The class clowns are Jeffrey and Timmy. Jeffrey used to talk a lot and fool around... He kept us in stitches. Now he only does that during breaks and at lunch. Timmy does it all the time" (Mil. Dep. girl). "Harry always gets up and talks back to the teacher and the teacher slaps him... It's a lot of fun when things are not too quiet" (Mil. Dep. boy). "I didn't like Jerry (Mil. Dep.)... Sometimes he fiddled around... But I felt bad for Jerry when he left. I think the teacher was happy when he left 'cause he was the class joker... One time he took over social studies class and taught it... Mrs. P. was really mad; she really lost control. But we had lots of fun" (local boy).

"Good riddance" is sometimes the response of teachers to a troublemaker or clown who leaves the school. Obviously, the child who is defined as a problem by the teacher is the one who encroaches upon her authority or disrupts her classroom equilibrium. As Dahlke maintains, the general personality pattern supported by the school is that of "the well-behaved girl" with "the characteristics imputed to the female-sex status in our society".[5] In essence, teachers are more concerned with aggressive than withdrawn pupils and quite often are happier with the latter.[6]

(c) The Withdrawn Child. "John doesn't do anything at all. He just sits there and draws... He does what the teacher wants" (Mil. Dep. girl). "Theodore does not have confidence in himself like Diane. If he did, I think he could have gone further and gone through all those words and be the winner (in the spelling contest), but he didn't have self-confidence. He's nervous, you know -- when he was up there he missed a word and missed his turn and couldn't start over. He doesn't have self-confidence" (Mil. Dep. girl).

Several pupils mentioned classmates who "don't participate much in class" or who "may not have many friends". Many local pupils mentioned that quite often the newcomer to class (especially the military dependent) was very quiet and seemed lost. For many newcomers, this was a passing phase rather than a continuous classroom role.

(d) Other Negative Roles. Those included (1) the chatterbox; (2) the moody crybaby; (3) the goof-off who "loves to fool around"; (4) the tattler; and (5) the "big shot" who bosses everybody", a synonym for bully. Each of these social types was at least mentioned by three pupils. The girls who "attracts all the boys" was mentioned both enviously and negatively by two female classmates; no sixth-grade boy mentioned the sexy girl as a type he either liked or did not like.

(e) Positive Roles. The most prominent is that of the "smart kid who knows all the answers". Each class seems to have at least one person who is defined by his peer group as the "smartest kid in the room", who doesn't get in trouble, or "who's good in most things". Other positive types include children who are good in sports generally, or especially good at kickball (which sixth-graders seem especially to enjoy), those who are the "friendliest in class" or the most popular.

(4) Local Pupils' Views of Newcomers.

Local pupils essentially thought of military dependents as newcomers or prior-to-end-of-the-school-year leavers. Girls mostly evaluated girls;

boys, other boys. Many local pupils characterized the newcomer as very quiet. "Joey is so quiet he's like a haunted house. He's good in everything he does, but he's real quiet." "Jim was always following me around before he moved. But our bunch just didn't like him." Some characterized newcomers as "people who don't seem to participate". "Linda (pronounced by local New England pupils as Linder) is really nice but she's funny. She always likes to have just one good friend, not a whole lot. And for a while it was Patty, and then when Patty and Cathy got to be friends they were all 3 together... And then when Debbie came in, she (Linda) hasn't played with anybody else."

Some mentioned that the newcomer was often discouraged. "Roger wants to learn but when he doesn't feel like it, he just says 'Oh forget it', or something, 'cause especially geography -- he never has had that subject, and so it's hard for him to learn." Others talked about the newcomer's fear of not being accepted and of being lonesome. "Karen (5 schools in 4 cities) is just off by herself. I don't think there's any other girls who're always off alone. She seems like such a lonely girl, though, and she's always off by herself, and half the time she's absent and not at school. I don't know exactly why she's this way, but she's always in trouble at home or something, or she doesn't feel like doing things with people. She's afraid the girls won't accept her, and it's too hard for her to be the way they are, that they won't accept her as one of the group -- something like that (local girl's tone is gentle and regretful). She just seems real sad and sometimes like she's not here at all."

A local boy commented on his class which had many newcomers: "Singing is one of our class problems. All the other classes can sing and they have a fine time, but in a group of strange kids like we have in our room, everybody's afraid to sing on account of everybody else... Everyone's bashful." In answer to the question whether some of the girls were initially shy because they had moved around a lot, one local girl commented: "I think that someone like Joanne (Mil. Dep.) who just usually plays hopscotch by herself, wouldn't worry about moving... She wouldn't be leaving a lot of friends behind."

Whereas withdrawal may be one of the newcomer's mechanisms of adaptation, another mechanism identified by local pupils is talkativeness especially when identifying persons with common travel experiences. "Susan and Lou Ann (2 Mil. Deps.) talked too much, and they sat next to each other in the back, and they were always talking to each other so Mrs. P had to move Lou Ann to the front." "Tommy, the new one, just came in, and talked, and did everything! He wouldn't sit in his seat, wouldn't do anything the teacher told him, just talked! Sometimes the class thought he was funny and sometimes crazy, getting up and the teacher yellin' all the time -- that drived everyone crazy." Or, "Patty is quiet, but when she gets around certain girls like Doreen and Cynthia, she just talks and gets in trouble. Otherwise she's a nice quiet girl." "Earl -- that's one of the kids (newcomers). He keeps opening his mouth in Mrs. J's class, and he always starts talking when Mrs. J asks a question."

In addition to being initially quiet or talkative, some newcomers are described as initially belligerent. It seems that physical size and fighting prowess is one of the adaptation mechanisms of the newcomer; through them he acquires instant status. "John started a fist fight the first day he arrived. Just like me and Paul, we always stick together, and he goes like this (left hook)... Well, I didn't say I could lick him, and I don't like fighting so... So he slaps me and he only got me once and hit Paul. I didn't like punching him back but I did it. You saw me, didn't you that day (to observer-interviewer)? ...Well, the bell rang just before he was going to sock me, and then I ran away... The fight was on the playground. This was about in February or March... We became good friends later." It should be noted that once a newcomer gets a reputation as a fighter, he can't live it down! Another quick avenue to status is for the newcomer to spearhead a campaign against a student teacher. When others join him in talking back to a student teacher and they later on discuss their "adventure" on the playground, he finds solidarity and acceptance in a new peer group. An initial role of being a troublemaker seems to help the newcomer get noticed by the classroom natives. In addition, several pupils mentioned that they missed a military dependent when he moved, because he always played the role of the classroom clown.

Two other avenues of adaptation by the newcomer, as mentioned by local pupils, are (a) the availability of local "integrators", and (b) initial assignment to a high ability group. "Robert (local) would be the first person to make friends with somebody new. He likes to get along with everybody." "When Marcia arrived she was put in the fast learners' group. She was very smart."

It is also helpful for the newcomer to be athletically inclined "she's smart and she can kick (kickball)" or have an artistic talent. "Melissa usually fixes bulletin boards because she's a very good artist. She's very artistic; she's full of artistic ideas, yet it's not really a reward to her because she's done so many posters... I like her because I like art and because she's nice."

(5) Military Dependents' Views of Local Pupils

These are related to (a) cliquishness, and (b) friendliness. Several military dependents mentioned that it was hard for them initially to get accepted in local pupils' cliques (called "gangs" and the "bunch" by pupils). Indeed, it was even difficult for other local pupils to crack such cliques. "Nancy, Christine, Virginia, and Cathy (all local girls) -- they go off into a corner at recess and talk about other people, and play & stuff like that ... It's hard to get close to them." "I (Mil. Dep. Boy) couldn't play in recess or be with others in playground games because the bunch that played together didn't want anyone new." Other military dependents, however, talked about local boys or girls who were especially friendly to them when they first came to school, what we have termed "local integrators". It is this process of "claiming" or sponsorship of the military dependent by teachers or classmates that greatly facilitates his adjustment.

F. The Mobile Child: A Career of Strangership

In this project, we are concerned with the response of one variety of highly mobile children, military dependents, to schooling situations in which they are found together with local pupils. In focusing on the sixth-grade, we have been interested in examining the norms governing the relationship between newcomers and oldtimers in the society of children, in the reaction of military dependents to frequent mobility, and the way they view discontinuity in learning and severance from local peers. Part and parcel of our concern is the reaction of the newcomer to the school, the reaction of the mobile pupil to his having to leave his school, rites of passage for newcomers and transfers, indices of adjustment of the newcomer and differences between boys and girls in this respect, the reaction of local pupils to mobile ones and vicé-versa, and the process of "claiming" or sponsorship of mobile pupils by teachers and classmates.

It can be said that the twentieth-century is a century of dislocation, of large-scale physical movement. Many words in the language suggest for us this phenomenon: strangers, outsiders, marginal men, peripheral people, newcomers, exiles, aliens, foreigners, wanderers, castaways, expatriates, and emigrés. American society itself is but a society of immigrants, a nation of ethnic groups to which more and more nations are becoming similar. Whereas sociological literature has mostly been focused on external strangers, that is, on foreign-born ones, nothing much has been written about native strangers, or internal foreigners, such as mobile children, oldsters, and other categories of people in limbo between groups or social classes. More attention has been paid to mobile adults, hardly any to mobile children. The literature on mobile children is sparse and piece-meal; we only know of one comprehensive study that deals with the strangership situation of children, a study of the children of boat-captains on the Rhine, and which is available only in Dutch but which we have not been able to get hold of.

The literature on the stranger is, like Caesar's Gaul, divisible into three parts: (1) autobiographical novels, (2) existential accounts, and (3) sociological essays. Among the well-known autobiographical novels or novilistic autobiographies are (a) Pearl S. Buck, My Several Worlds (#GC-35, Pocket Books, New York, 1963); (b) Albert Memmi, The Pillar of Salt (La Statue de Sel) (Orion Press, New York, 1962); and (c) Stefan Zweig, The World of Yesterday (#BB-181, Bison Books, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1964). Among the existential accounts, are (a) Colin Wilson, The Outsider (#MP-1, Pan Books, London, England, 1967); (b) Wylie Sypher, Loss of the Self in Modern Literature and Art (#V-266, Vintage Books, Random House, New York, 1962); (c) Hermann Hesse, Demian(#N-3259, Bantam Books, New York, 1966); and (d) Albert Camus's novel, The Stranger (#V-2, Vintage Books, Random House, New York, 1946). As is well-known, both autobiographies and existential writings put the issue of strangership in a large human context, for it is the issue of modern man. We would like to remark in passing that whereas the word "stranger" in some languages is synonymous with "guest" and thus is expressive of generosity and helpfulness, in other languages "stranger" connotes dread and wariness. In this regard, it may be amusing to observe that whereas Albert Camus's novel, L'Étranger, is translated in America as the "stranger", in England it is called the "outsider", which goes to prove the existence of further subtle attitudes towards the stranger even within so-called similar cultures. But this is a point for socio-linguists to worry about, and for those interested in what Alfred Schutz has termed the "logic of everyday life". (One is constantly intrigued by a recurrent theme in sixth-graders' vocabulary when they describe their experiences: "... & everything", "... & stuff", "... & all that".)

With regard to sociological (and socio-anthropological or socio-psychological) writings on the stranger, the following are among the well-known ones: (a) Georg Simmel, "The Stranger", in Kurt Wolff (ed.), The Sociology of Georg Simmel, The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-Macmillan, New York, 1950, pp. 402-408); (b) Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man", *American Journal of Sociology*, 33;881-893, May 1928; (c) Everett V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1937; (d) Alfred Schutz, "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology", *American Journal of Sociology*, 59; 499-507, 1944; (e) Everett C. Hughes, "Social Change and Status Protest: An Essay on the Marginal Man", *Phylon*, 10:58-65, First Quarter 1949; (f) Dennison Nash, "The Ethnologist as Stranger: An Essay in the Sociology of Knowledge", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 19:149-167, Summer 1963; (g) Kalvero Oberg, "Culture Shock", #A-329 Bobbs-Merrill Reprints in the Social Sciences, Indianapolis, Indiana, 12 pp., 1954; (h) Harlan Cleveland, *et al*., *The Overseas Americans: A Report on Americans Abroad*, McGraw-Hill Paperbacks, New York, 1964; (i) Julian L. Greifer, "Attitudes to the Stranger", *American Sociological Review*, 10:739-745, December 1945; (j) Ernst Gruenfeld, *Die Peripheren: Ein Kapitel Soziologie (Marginal People)*, N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers, Amsterdam, Holland, 1939; and (k) H. F. Dickie-Clark, "The Marginal Situation: A Contribution to Marginality Theory", *Social Forces*, 44: 363-370, March 1966. This selection is but to discount what has been written under "alienation" and "anomie" in sociology, top that are related to marginality but are quite different.

Some of the aforementioned sociological writings have a bearing on our study of pupils' physical mobility. According to Simmel, the role of the "stranger" is that of a person on his way from one social location to another, of a person in limbo between groups.[7] As Gruenfeld maintains, "Around the kernal of any social group lies a broad belt of persons who belong neither to one side nor to the other... Peripheral people are all those who are peripheral with reference to a social structure, so that their adherence to this structure as well as to others is weakened or dissolved."[8] In this way, Gruenfeld gives his concept of Die Peripheren a wider application, for in it he includes not only cultural hybrids or marginal men but many kinds of persons who are half in, half out of some social stratum, whether by chance, choice, or force of circumstance.[9] This is akin to Dickie-Clark's definition of the marginal situation as essentially one of inconsistent ranking that produces behavioral uncertainty.[10]

"Culture shock" and "anomie" (normlessness) refer to the negative feeling of the person in his experience as a stranger.[11] Successful adaptation of the newcomer depends on membership in a group that facilitates his transition, on an "adaptive enclave", as Nash maintains, through which he acquires a new frame of reference.[12] In his study of suburban adults, Gutman mentions the "integrators", local persons who provide a definition of proper behavior and through whom newcomers become acquainted with existent social networks.[13] Both Simmel and Schutz mention the objectivity and, at times, uncanny precision of the stranger in analyzing local cultural patterns.[14] One adaptive reaction of the stranger is termed by Nash "involved detachment";[15] Henry, on the other hand, maintains that the school nowadays actually drills pupils in "uninvolvement".[16] We have already made use of some of these notions in our discussion of children's sixth-grade society and the views of local pupils on the adaptation of the newcomer.

We would like to utilize two other notions from the literature. (1) Geographic mobility, like Simmel's stranger,[17] incorporates both physical and social distance and could be viewed not only in relation to frequency of moves but also their social intensity. We have seen that this is true especially in the case of the withdrawn newcomer as discussed by local pupils. (2) We have considered one kind of movement in space, the movement of pupils between cities where they have attended school, as "territorial passage" in Van Gennep's sense, i.e., as connected with movement in status, with a different social position.[18] This is, it seems to us, where the different writings on the stranger mesh together -- e.g., those of Simmel, Schutz, Park, Hughes, Nash, Gruenfeld, and Dickie-Clark -- for strangership as "territorial passage" means essentially the pains of reclassification encountered by the person in his journey between groups. Our discussion of the newcomer as seen by local pupils, as well as the newcomer's initial inability to gain entry into the local children's cliques, has highlighted this point. We shall draw upon other notions and concepts from the above-mentioned sociological writings as we, in this section,present our findings regarding the newcomer's own views about his or her experience.

The military dependent qua mobile pupil, that is, in his role as a stranger, can be said to go through three stages: newcomership, provisional membership, and imminent departure. Advent, transitory permanence, and leave-taking, being at times sudden or abrupt, define his schooling career. These three stages are often similar to the mechanisms of adaptation discussed in the literature, e.g., to the three stages of culture shock (elation, aggession or withdrawal, and accommodation), the three stages of rites of passage (separation, transition, and incorporation), or even to the three stages of Hansen's theory of Americanization which deals with the first three generations of American ethnic groups (dual culture, self-hatred, and the search for previously discarded pre-American roots).[19] It should be noted, however, that the newcomer may quite often first experience the second stage of culture shock or of Americanization and may never get even to a modicum of accommodation or incorporation. Oberg, Van Gennep, and Hansen essentially deal with the person who, though he may travel, finally arrives or settles down -- an experience not shared by the majority of military dependents in our school districts. Hence, though the aforementioned adaptational stages may not be fully or consecutively experienced by the mobile pupil, some are still experienced partially or even in reverse order by him. If so, then our data, at least in part, would serve to test both the applicability and modifiability of these theories.

With regard to military dependents in both the 1964-65 and 1965-66 interview samples, more than 90% had attended school in three or more cities between kindergarten and sixth-grade; more than 55% had attended school in 4 to 8 cities. From the mobile child's own point of view, how does geographic mobility affect his life? What does mobility mean to him? How does he feel about moving around a lot? What does he like about it? How does he feel as a newcomer to school? How do his classmates react to him when he leaves school? How does he feel when it's time to say goodbye to his school friends and classmates? These and similar questions are discussed below.

(1) Attitudes towards Mobility

Of the 92 military dependents interviewed, 85 provided answers in this category. Of those, 33% said they liked moving around; 54% said they disliked it; and 13% were ambivalent. More boys favored mobility than girls. No relationship was found between the number of moves a pupil had made during his schooling career and the type of response he gave. Those who liked mobility had neither moved less often nor more frequently than those who disliked it.

Children who liked the mobile life said they did so because they liked to travel and have new experiences. The excitement of going to a new place, of meeting different people and seeing different things were emphasized. Some said they liked mobility because they were used to it -- it was the way of life they knew and enjoyed. Very few, however, said that the mobile life included no negative aspects. Most of them mentioned that mobility made their academic life more difficult, but nevertheless, felt that, all in all, the positive features of mobility outweighed its negative ones.

Children who disliked mobility said they did so because it disrupted their friendships and made their social life more difficult. Although disruption of their schooling was mentioned as a negative aspect, for them the most important thing was the worry about losing old friends and having to acquire new ones. Only two among those who disliked mobility said flatly "I don't like to travel" without giving any further explanation.

Those who were ambivalent about mobility mentioned the positive features of travel ("meeting more people and seeing things") but coupled immediately with its negative ones, especially the discontinuity in friendship and the adjustment process moving around imposed on them. Again, for them social discontinuity was more important than the issue of academic adjustment to various schools.

The preceding account was based on the way each respondent himself explained and summed up his attitude towards mobility: "I like it"; "I don't like it"; or "I'm not so sure". We also tabulated the positive and negative statements about mobility without regard to the respondent's conclusion and discovered that three times as many negative statements as positive ones were made about the impact of geographic mobility on the child's social life. As seen by sixth-graders, the major negative side of geographic mobility was the unstable social life it produced for them, that is, severance from their friends. For them, having to leave their friends was a sad and sometimes a heart-breaking experience. Furthermore, they stressed that being faced with this experience was not a rare occurrence for them but a frequent occasion. Many of them mentioned that as soon as they made friends, they had to move again, and had "to make friends over and over again". Some girls felt "homesick" for their friends; some boys simply said, "What's the point of making new friends when you have to leave them?".

Several children said that they always faced the uncertainty of not being able to make new friends after leaving the old. The future was uncertain: In another location, "you have to get settled"; there is some adjustment to be made. The child may feel shy in a new place. The norms and expectations may be different, e.g., sixth-grade dating at the present school when it wasn't done in the previous school the girl had attended. Many pupils said that making new friends was hard because "you're scared", or shy, or "you have to worry about forgetting them". Two respondents said that military kids were "desperate for friends". Several military dependents said that they had fewer friendships than local pupils because of the limited time they spent in any one setting: "As soon as you have a friend, you have to move again... Those who don't move (local pupils) have 20 years to spend with the same people." Because friendship was such a basic theme in the responses of many military dependents at the sixth-grade level, responses revolving around the uncertainty of the future of their friendships and the sadness and "anxiety separation" many interviewees seemed to exhibit, we suggest that interviews with mobile children in higher grades be conducted. This way, it may be learned how this issue may have been solved by some mobile children who are older and how it may be solved for some younger ones.

In contrast to the above, a few military dependents mentioned that friendship formation was actually easier for them because of their experiences in meeting new people. Another positive feature was getting to meet different kinds of people and knowing them in many different places. For some, being mobile and meeting a large number of different kinds of people is preferable to staying in one place. Furthermore, the child may gain status in a new classroom group for having travelled to places others had not visited. He may become socially more sophisticated as a result of his experience; as several interviewees stated, travel makes them "get a better idea of what the world's like".

The military dependent represents a special type of mobile child. He tends to be a permanent member of a continuously transient group. If he lives in a military housing-complex on base, being mobile may not be that different for him than staying put. A few pupils mentioned that they disliked leaving their friends, but that if they didn't, their friends would leave them anyway because their friends are military dependents too. In addition, by belonging to a travelling community (a travel circuit, as it were), they said they could anticipate the possibility of meeting old friends in a new setting and that for them this was a joyous experience they were always looking for.

The overall impression that emerges out of these interviews is that the mobile child is one who may have many friends from different places but very few close ones. Some mobile children, to escape being hurt, seem to have trained themselves in uninvolvement with people. As one of them said, "What's the point of making friends when you have to leave them anyway?' Perhaps geographic mobility brings with it a superficialization of relationships. The mobile child seems to have no sense of continuity in his education, friendships, or environment. He seems to be like Simmel's stranger --- both present and absent, far and near as far as the groups he approaches are concerned; everything for him somewhat out of place. At best, he experiences the thrill of adventure and of coping with the unfamiliar;

at worst, feelings of abandonment, loss, helplessness, isolation, and fear of the unknown.

The responses of all military-dependent interviewees were rated solely with regard to the way they said geographic mobility affected their social lives, especially their friendship ties, feelings of being socially anchored, and inner security: 59%, or more than half, indicated that moving around affected their social life in undesirable ways; 23% thought that their mobility had socially desirable results; and 18% indicated that mobility had a mixed effect, that it introduced both positive and negative features into their social life.

With regard to the overall effect of mobility on the pupils' academic life, 7% of the military-dependent respondents felt that mobility helped their academic careers, 88% saw it as necessitating somewhat difficult adjustments to different school programs; and only 5% regarded changing schools as having no effect on their school work or achievement.

On the positive side, there were several statements pointing out a learning gain as the upshot of moving around a lot. Several pupils, for example, stated that their travel experiences had helped them in history, geography, and social studies.

On the negative side, there were complaints that moving around a lot and changing schools resulted in a situation where the pupil had to adjust to variations in curriculum, teaching methods, and learning rates demanded by different school systems. Some of the examples given were the availability of instruction in French in some schools and not in others, the volume of homework, and the use of TV as a teaching device in California and not New England. For a few pupils, differences in regional dialects created learning problems (Tennessee drawl vs. crisp New Englandese with extra r's lurking in unsuspected places). Forty-one military dependents mentioned the issue of variation in educational requirements as a problem. Several mentioned problems of adjustment associated with being behind the others academically in a new school. The "new math" was cited several times as a problem.

Several pupils complained that they found their school-work boring because it included lessons they had already covered at previous schools. Because of differences in school programs, there had been times in their lives when they claimed to have learned relatively little in a school setting.

A number of pupils talked about the unpredictability of the various school systems they had to attend, stating that their grades and achievement always varied with the demands and standards of the school in which they happened to be enrolled. Some schools were harder, others easier; they might be ahead or they might be behind. (Eighteen pupils, 8 boys and 10 girls, made such statements.) Two pupils, however, were of the opinion that one's academic achievement averaged out in the long run when one moved around a lot and attended different schools. A few pupils regretted the time spent away from the classroom when moving from place to place during the school year and lack of an opportunity for continuity in a single school setting.

In contrast to the aforementioned, we would like to introduce the perspective of a perceptive local pupil who had attended the same school from kindergarten to the sixth-grade. He talked about his relationship to his teachers. He had known most of them before entering the school or knew about them. (Cf. the "verbal dossier" on the school teacher that the local community seems always to compile.) During his six years at the school, he had learned enough about them to know "how to butter them up". And he said that mobile children were unable to do this, which for him was an important aspect of his schooling.

There are now some major efforts to evaluate schools on a nationwide basis and bring about a modicum of common educational standards. On the basis of our findings with regard to the experience of mobile children, we would hope that some system of cordination, at least between American school systems with large enrollments of mobile pupils, would be initiated to facilitate a smoother transition for pupils who move from school to school. Some of the vast differences in curriculum, services, resources, and teaching methods might be lessened. Special programs for the geographically mobile pupil (or teacher) might be instituted, e.g., through specific allocation of additional funds and resource persons to P. L. 874 beneficiaries. We offer this as a recommendation for those interested in taking a larger look, and a long-range look, at the education of mobile pupils.

We now turn to a discussion of what happens to a mobile pupil from the time he enters a new classroom until he leaves it sometime during the school year.

(2) Newcomership

With few exceptions, the experience of joining a new school and a new classroom for mobile pupils -- although they had gone through it several times -- is an uncomfortable one. Their uncomfortable sensations range from merely feeling shy or self-conscious to feeling strange, nervous, or frightened. Many used such expressions as "scared", "scared stiff", "worried", "jittery", "afraid", "weird", "uneasy", "lonely", "odd", "left out", or "jumpy", to describe their feelings upon first coming to a new school. The adjective "scared" is applicable to about two-thirds of the newcomers; "very scared" and "scared stiff" to about one third of them.

We were greatly surprised at this finding: What seems, with few exceptions, so ominous to these experienced travelers? According to their responses, they are reacting merely to being again in an unknown environment. Primarily, the problem is that they "don't know anyone" in the class. "Worried... because of a whole lot of new faces staring at you"; "Didn't feel that good 'cause I was new and didn't know anybody or anything -- you just kinda felt new"; "Didn't know whether I was going to do something wrong... Kind of scary when you sit down at the desk";

"Wondering what's going to happen.. Not knowing the people... Wondering what you have to do to make friends". Also, mobile children as newcomers were worried about how the class was going to react to them and how they would react to the new classmates. They were also concerned about not knowing what to do or how to proceed in a new situation because they did not know anyone who might help to make the situation easier. "Kinda scary... Everybody just looked at me... Shocking to come into the classroom when you don't know anybody." A few pupils mentioned their apprehension that they might inadvertently do something wrong or break the rules and thus be subject to unknown penalties administered by the teacher.

About 90% of the interviewees said they were apprehensive or scared on first coming to a new school, that those feelings they experienced as newcomers lasted from about a week to a month, and for some who were especially shy, for more than a month. About 7% said they got over feeling scared, jittery, or worried very quickly, that they hardly felt odd or different after a few days. About 3% said they felt frightened but that when they picked a fight with local classmates or came to school with a chip on their shoulders the first day or two, the "other kids pretty well tried to get along" with them. For the greatest majority of military dependents, the experience of being a newcomer, a stranger, is a source of fright; they seem to experience culture shock not at the initial stage of elation (the "honeymoon stage"), but at the second stage of inner doubts, withdrawal, or aggression. Although many of them had said they looked forward to going to a new school as an adventure, they, nevertheless, experienced nervousness and fear when they "made the scene". There was no difference between boys and girls in their feelings of discomfort as newcomers.

Some of those who got over their initial fears very quickly said that as newcomers to a classroom they met a friend or friends whom they had known from the past (in New England, some met friends they had gone to school with in Germany or Japan). Others said that a prospective classmate they had gotten to know from the neighborhood or in the summer prior to beginning of the school year helped them get over their initial discomfort as newcomers. For newcomers, having a friend serves as an anchor, a sponsor through whom they can "learn the ropes".

Now that we have discussed the inner feelings of pupils as newcomers, we would like to round off the picture: What is the reaction of the class to the newcomer? According to the responses of local pupils as well as military dependents who have been at the same school for more than a year, such reaction varies from simple curiosity, to friendly overtures, and to hostile reactions. It also varies from classroom to classroom. Sometimes the class is upset or confused by the newcomer -- he is a stranger, an unknown quantity to them. Curiosity is directed towards learning what a newcomer is all about; the sizing-up is mutual. "When people talk, you get some idea of them" (Mil. Dep. girl). "It's almost like the class is scared, cuz you don't know what to think of him (the newcomer)" (local boy). "If the new kid is frightened and he's very quiet, the class isn't helpful" (local boy). "Well, they (newcomers) look rather nervous, you know, they start blushing if they're a girl and when Mrs. P introduces them, they sort of giggle and look down at the floor. Like when Debbie came in, we all felt really sorry for her, 'cause she looked so scared -- she was shaking all over and you know she's got a pony-tail, it kept jumping around! Everybody liked her 'cause she's really nice and she's cute and they didn't want her to be so scared" (local girl). "They (newcomers) feel sort of funny like they are starting a whole new life... More so than we do when we first begin the school year because you meet different kids, but... Sharon came in late and already knew someone so she was all set... If you knew someone already, you wouldn't feel out of place... Because she knew Melissa, everybody was kind of friendly to her" (local girl). Although some local children may be sympathetic or helpful to the newcomer, others may ignore him or even shun him.

Obviously, the reaction of the class would be influenced by the extent to which it is accustomed to strangers entering the classroom and by the extent of pupil turn-over in its membership. Whereas, with regard to attitudes towards school, we did not discover any differences between pupils in classrooms composed predominantly of local pupils (low-mobility classes), pupils in classrooms in which military dependents and local pupils were about equally distributed (medium mobility classes), and pupils in classrooms composed predominantly of military dependents (high mobility classes), we did discover some differences between these three groups of classrooms with regard to their reactions to the newcomer. In general, classes in which few newcomers are the rule (low-mobility classes) tend to be more unfriendly to the newcomer than those where "mobility" among pupils occurs more frequently (high mobility classes). In the former, the reactions of the class tend to be dependent to a larger extent on those of the class leaders. In contrast, in classes where mobility is almost a rule among pupils and newcomership is frequent, the reactions of the class are mainly those of curiosity. The hostility and unfriendliness tend to be absent and there is no indication that class leaders set the tone for the total group's reactions. Finally, classes which are composed in almost equal numbers of both a stable local population and a mobile one most often react in a friendly manner towards newcomers. Some hostility or unfriendliness may be expressed, but on relatively infrequent occasions. As newcomers, boys tend to be accepted more than girls in medium mobility classes, for in some of these classes girls' cliques are quite close-knit and cohesive. We would like to qualify these tendencies in the three kinds of classroom groups by saying that the style with which the teacher approaches the newcomer quite often makes the difference.

(3) On Becoming a Classroom Member

The stranger to the classroom, the newcomer, is provided with his primary orientation by the teacher. Independently of her classroom group and by giving specific instructions to her pupils, the teacher sees to it that the newcomer becomes familiar with his new surroundings and the formal demands of the school.

He is shown around the building, given a seat and books in the classroom, and assigned to an ability group if that is part of the school's practices. He is told the school and classroom rules and about the school work which has to be covered and is to be done. If the newcomer's academic preparation is lacking, the teacher may see to it that he has additional help so that he can more easily perform academically as a member of the classroom group. The teacher's usual role is to help the newcomer so that he can fulfill the formal expectations of the academic institution for which she works.

Indirectly, more subtly, and with variation in extensiveness, the teacher assists the newcomer in taking a place in the social structure of the classroom. Most simply, she introduces the newcomer to the class as a new classmate, and publicly assigns him a desk and books in the classroom, thereby providing him with an official identity and place as a classroom member.

The teacher may stimulate her pupils' interest in the newcomer's relative comfort, status, and potential position in their social life through the process of involving them in the tasks associated with his orientation to the school. Pupils are sometimes asked to help locate books for the newcomer, to tell him the rules, to tell him about the current schoolwork and, on occasion, to help him with his work. Often-times, a pupil of the same sex as the newcomer is asked to show the newcomer around the building and to be friendly with him. (In school systems with a large "mobile" population, the pupil selected may also have a "mobile" background.)

The teacher assigns pupils to help the newcomer, tries to sponsor him, and, through her choice of pupils to help him and her manner of presentation, to influence the reactions of others to him and his reactions to them and to himself. Obviously, some teachers accomplish this better than others. On occasion, a pupil who is asked to help may resent the request and negative consequences for the newcomer may result. At times, the teacher's perfunctory manner may discomfit or embarrass both newcomer and classmates.

On the positive side, a classmate selected to spend some time with the newcomer and who decides he likes the newcomer may serve as his sponsor into the social life of the classroom and especially their playground activities. Sixth-graders like to "make it" not only with the teacher but also with their peer-groups; for most newcomers, pupil sponsorship is more crucial than the teacher's. At any rate, the teacher's requests provide the assigned classmate and the newcomer some structured opportunity for communication. Turning a designated helper into an active sponsor depends on factors not fully under the control of the teacher.

Only on unusual occasions does the teacher directly intervene in the social lives of her pupils with regard to influencing the peer status of the newcomer. If the newcomer appears to have extreme social problems (crying, depression, too much aggression), or if he has obviously been rejected by the group, then the teacher may send the newcomer out of the room and lecture the class on being friendlier. Occasionally, she may break up a fight between an oldtimer and a newcomer.

Her effectiveness, in either case, depends upon the extent to which she is liked and holds the respect of her class. Our pupil interviews show that sixth-graders are well-aware of all these contingencies.

The social life of the class, their friendships and social relationships, are regarded by the pupils as totally separate and distinct from the academic life of the class. The pupil's school life is essentially divided into three spheres: The clasroom, the playground, and after school. Cooperation in school work may include friendships, but friendships are rarely formed directly as a result of it. For the sixth-grader, integration into a social network is more important than school work. Hence, the newcomer to the classroom faces a double role: adjustment to the formal expectations of an institution and to the informal codes of his classmates. To have friends among his classmates is more important to him than only having the teacher as a friend.

Peer friendships are formed in the school during breaks from academic work, during which time there are better opportunities to talk and play. Such breaks include gym periods, recess periods, lavatory breaks (group breaks for girls), time on the playground, and occasionally lunchroom periods. Friendships may also be formed on the bus to and from school, especially between classmates who live in the same neighborhood. Several newcomers mentioned to us that they first made friends with local pupils during their bus rides. They also emphasized that friendships were not the result of doing school work together unless this meant working together at home rather than at school. However, although friendships were not formed during academic activity at school, the way the newcomer's academic capability was judged by his classmates influenced his status with them and his potentiality as a friend.

When a newcomer enters a classroom, oldtimers will take the initiative in making the first overtures of friendliness more often -- regardless of the extent to which they are accustomed to strangers. This is true of both medium and high mobility classes (where military dependents are about 50% or more of enrollment) but not of low mobility classes (where local pupils constitute a decisive majority). In the first two kinds of classes, mobile oldtimers, i.e., military dependents who have been in the school for more than a year, will take this initiative more often than local oldtimers; they are more sensitive to strangership than locals. The friendly overtures include offers to provide orientation to the institution -- that is, to show the newcomer around the school, tell him about the rules and the schoolwork -- and invitations to sociability, that is, to join oldtimers at lunch or in their games at recess. Here, the distinction between being friendly and appearing to be is subtle, but recognizable by both newcomers and oldtimers.

Boys and girls apparently use different methods to decide whether or not to be friends with a newcomer . Girls concentrate on the newcomer's capacity for talking, trustworthiness, and willingness to exchange gossip. Boys rely on the interchange during playground games to figure out the newcomer.

The accpetance of a newcomer in a sixth-grade social group, regardless of sex, is contingent on the newcomer's similarity or attractiveness to the group in dress, personality, interests, attitudes, and prejudices. The newcomer, to be acceptable to the group, must conform to its standards. Conformity is the rule, "individualism" is discouraged, deviations are not well received. Members seek friends who "dress well", a requirement set by both boys and girls, and who are interested in their interests, that is, girls who will talk about boys or about other girls, and boys who like sports and will talk about girls, preferably disparagingly. The basic requirement is that the newcomer, by behavior and attitude, conform to what the group values. "A good guy is one who will get in trouble, but not too much trouble, and who will get good grades." In a larger sense, this seems to be an American middle-class requirement.

A newcomer's acceptance is facilitated if he fits very closely the image posed by the norms of his new classroom group, or by taking on and accepting these norms. An example was given by some interviewees concerning an attractive, "cool", newcomer girl who was rejected by, and who rejected, the "best" clique in the class. It was a clique whose members liked to "talk a lot" and with whom the newcomer did not like to socialize. She preferred reading to gossip.

A newcomer's acceptance may also be facilitated by his developing a friendship with a key individual in a sixth-grade group or clique. A form of sponsorship exists here. If the newcomer is accepted by a group member -- one he had known either previously, from his neighborhood, or one he has gotten to know after entering the class -- then the group's respect for the member's taste or inclination opens doors for the newcomer. Sixth-graders are very "groupy". In some low-mobility classes where the social structure seems to be tighter and where cliques are hard to "crack", some interviewees reported that the acceptance of the newcomer by an esteemed clique member resulted in his acceptance by all.

In all types of school settings, the newcomer has an easier time if he is a talkative person. A shy person is at a disadvantage since he neither makes known to a large extent his interest nor promotes actively the development of influential social relationships. Furthermore, the group has a need to "know" about the newcomer because of an uneasiness with "strangers" (a paraphrase of an interview statement).

The social life of the sixth-grade group appears to be very much ordered by rules, norms, and standards, and by a conformity to them. The life of the newcomer is very much affected by this structure. He is told about many of the formal rules upon entering the classroom by both his teacher and classmates -- initially, more by the teacher than by classmates, as many interviewees indicated. He learns about many rules, nearly half the time, by experience -- by observing others break them and be reprimanded or punished, or by breaking them himself and being corrected by the teacher or classmates. Initially, however, the newcomer learns more from observation than participation, for as a stranger he is not sure of his grounds; he is other-directed. Some mobile pupils have emphasized that the process of trial and error and testing of boundaries must be undergone in order to learn the rules in a new school setting, and that there is no other way.

The length of time it takes a newcomer to "feel at home" in a new academic and social setting varies from a few days to half a year; there is no consensus among the interviewees. "Feeling at home" is described by military dependents mainly in terms of "people at school". "Knowing people" is commonly viewed by most of the interviewees as the key to feeling comfortable: "The length of time it takes to feel comfortable depends on how the boys and girls are in the class", more so than upon the teacher. "Feeling at home is when people let you in their games."

The majority of sixth-grade military dependents get fully acculturated to their school groups. When they leave, most of them are sad. Friendships sustain them; they are sad to leave their school friends. To the sixth-grader, who more often than not, is not fond of school, school is where his friends are.

(4) Leave-taking

About 92% of the military dependents interviewed said they were "unhappy", "sad", or even "scared" when they had to leave school for another; about 3% were "glad" or "happy" to do so; and about 5% were ambivalent. (In contrast, close to three-quarters of the local pupils interviewed said they were unhappy when their mobile friends had to leave -- many said they even appreciated them more after leaving and missed their classroom and playground antics -- about 5% said they were glad some of their mobile classmates were leaving because they never got along with them; and the rest were ambivalent.)

"Well, I'm happy and I'm sad. I'm sad I'm leaving all my friends, and I'm happy because I know I am going to make new friends and better acquaintances... I make friends pretty easily, but... you never can know. You never know what may be or maybe not ... I've moved so many times I don't care where I go. Actually the kid who's just moving the first time, he's real shook-up and he wants people to be sorry for him, but I don't care... We planned way ahead that we were going to Hawaii. And I was real happy about it and now that it's so close, you don't know what to feel. You know you don't feel anything. You don't feel, 'Oh boy, I'm real happy!' And you're not hollering and jumping up and down, and you're not saying, 'Oh Gee, I don't want to go' -- you don't know what to do" (mobile boy who was going to leave school shortly). "People in class are jittery, but people who're moving don't look jittery... It's not the people who move who are sad -- it's the people who stay back. People who move have something to look forward to" (mobile boy). "When I left Germany I didn't want to leave, because I didn't think it would be any fun up here, and everybody was telling me how cold it was, and showing me pictures in our geography book... I didn't want to leave because I got so used to it that I didn't want to break away" (mobile boy). "When you are leaving it's very hard, 'cause you got to know the teacher and the classroom and the people in it, and then you will never see them again" (mobile girl). "When Susan moved she was happy to go because she wanted so much to go someplace and she was sorry she had to leave all her friends ... Five or six months she was here, and she had to leave again" (mobile girl re another). "When Richard moved, he was a little shook-up. When your father has to leave and go overseas, you never know what could happen... He (Richard) didn't really want to leave because he got used to the teacher, and he's a really nice teacher if you know him" (mobile girl re mobile boy). "When I left school in Texas I was sad 'cause I had thought it was really my home... And I loved my teacher" (mobile girl).

What do local boys and girls think of mobile pupils who are about to leave? "Tommy was glad to leave because he talked a lot and so the teachers yelled at him... Patty had to leave and she was unhappy because she was in our gang (a clique member) and had friends" (local girl). "Most really don't want to go if they have a lot of friends" (local girl). "Those that are unhappy and don't have friends are glad to go. Those that have friends and are doing well in school are sad to leave" (local boy). "When she (mobile girl) had to leave, she was sad but kind of happy because they (classmates) were always starting fights" (local girl). "Moving out? Sometimes if you are happy you get rid of the teacher. I wouldn't feel that way 'cause if I moved now, I would be moving away from a whole life that I was born and raised up in" (local boy). "On their (mobile pupils') last day they're very somber and, you know, very serious, and very sad, and kind of gloomy. Sometimes even kind of teary-eyed. And usually they don't say goodbye to you, each person... And usually they just kind of look at them (classmates), stare at all of them, and walk off" (local girl). "On Ingrid's last day, she was very quiet. She hardly even talked, only when she was asked something. And then out at recess, she just walked around quietly as though her little heart was broken. And when she left she said goodbye to Mr. D and few of her close friends, and then she stared at everyone and just walked out" (local girl). "They (military dependent classmates) don't like to move 'cause they know a lot of people by then. Maybe they don't mind it but I wouldn't like to move a lot... They are used to it; it, maybe, doesn't bother them... Most kids were probably happy to move. It depends on if they've got a lot of friends, like I wouldn't want to move, 'cause I've got a lot of friends here" (local girl). "Well, sometimes they're happy; sometimes they're sad, but they never tell the teacher... But then somebody else, like Joanne, she just usually plays hopscotch by herself; I don't think she'd worry about moving" (local girl). "He (mobile pupil) was kind of afraid... 'cause he heard they're awful smart (the kids in the new school). He felt sad about leaving here 'cause a lot of his good friends are here" (local boy). "When John (her boyfriend, a military dependent) was leaving for Hawaii, he called me up. He said he missed me, y'know. (Rather shyly) I miss him a little too" (local girl). Both military dependents and local pupils realize that for the recently integrated newcomer in their midst, leaving friends is difficult. Girls seem to be more saddened than boys when they leave their friends. Many military dependents and local pupils have mentioned that at least for a few months after a sixth-grade friend leaves, they continue to hear from him or her and to write one another. "Only close friends keep in touch"; "only if they are real, real good friends we'll keep in touch" (local boys). "We write to most of the friends that we had in Dayton... You don't miss them too much. We've been through it lots of times" (Mil. Dep. boy). "Now that Donna's getting settled down, she's not writing so much" (local girl). "We (the interviewee and her friend) write about 3 times a week. We write to people we knew in Florida -- I think quite a few kids (in her classroom) do that" (Mil. Dep. girl).

What is done when a pupil leaves? Is there a party or a farewell card? Any special ritual? Several pupils, both military dependents and locals, said "Nothing special is done", that sometimes the kid who leaves doesn't say anything and departs suddenly. Others had different comments: "Last day of school when someone's leaving, the teacher has to draw up transfer papers -- she gets hectic. Sometimes you draw up a little certificate and everybody signs it, and you present it to the person going away. There's never a party but a get-together (in class) and goodbye. The person who's leaving would still take tests -- they would count on their grade" (local boy). "Well, I guess maybe we'd get 'em a little going away card or something. Just, you know, just a little thing to show that you liked them while they were here" (local girl). "We had a going-away party for Donna, not at school but at home. We gave her a present" (local girl). "Nothing was done for David when he left. The kids just say 'goodbye'.

I felt sad because he'll have to make friends all over and leave his old friends... But we still write" (Mil. Dep. boy). "In the last day of school, sometimes the teacher don't make them do nothin'. She just let them sit around or something... There's no party" (local boy). "He had all these transfer papers and everyone knew he was leaving that day... We all said 'goodbye, good luck'" (local boy).

"No, there is no party and no official announcement when a kid leaves" (local girl). "The teacher doesn't treat the leaver any different; she prepares his transfer records. He has to wash and clean out his desk and bring a note giving him permission to leave. No parties are given for those who leave" (local boy). "Well, usually on the day that they are going to leave or the last day, the teacher tells us to, you know, play with them and talk to them during recess. (Interviewer: You mean she makes an announcement while he is there?) Yes. Well, at the very last part of the day she says, 'you can say goodbye to him' and all that. (Interviewer: And that means that everybody can get up and talk to him or something?) Well, whoever wants to at the end of the day when you are getting your coats and things. (Interviewer: Do you ever have a party for him?) No, but at the end of the year, we have a party for the teacher sometimes!" (local girl).

What are the views of the military dependents themselves regarding the rites of leaving? What has been their experience? The greatest majority said that "goodbye & good luck" were about the only thing they got. Some said they got farewell cards signed by either all pupils in the classroom or only by their good friends, the latter case being purely the friends' rather than the teacher's own initiative. Others had different experiences: "At one school (in Illinois), the kids gave me cards with their pictures on them and they sang, well, 'she's a jolly good fellow'... At another school (in Virginia), there was a bunch of kids gonna leave then, so they just gave a party for us all (at school)" (Mil. Dep. girl). "Everything was in a rush. I had to have my papers signed, and I had to give them back the books, and I went around the whole school doing that... But they had a surprise party for me at the end of the day" (Mil. Dep. boy). "At one school I was in, anyone who was good or leaving would get to draw out of a grab bag which had toys or things the teacher took from the boys who used them when they weren't supposed to. She (the teacher) also put things in it. I drew earrings from the bag at the time I was leaving (in 4th grade)" (Mil. Dep. girl). "When Pattie (a friend) and I left, one day in the middle of the year (5th grade), the boys yelled and cheered; the girls were sad. There was no parties or anything special. But the teacher said she was going to miss us" (Mil Dep. girl). In all their responses, those who talked about their feelings when they left school were more preoccupied with the reactions and attitudes of their classmates rather than those of the teacher. Hardly a pupil or two ever mentioned the teacher when they talked about their experience of leaving.

For sixth-graders, school is not an academy by a social arena, an interactive setting, a friendship network. How they "make it" with their classmates seems more important to them than "making it" with the teacher. Their insights into the social worlds they encounter and participate in, as we have shown in discussion of their interviews in this chapter, often surpass those of adults. They are the natives of the situation who know whereof they speak. The school looks quite different when viewed from their standpoint!

CHAPTER VII

FIELD-WORK IN SCHOOLS: CLASSROOM & SCHOOL OBSERVATION

What kind of a place is the classroom for both migrant and local pupils? What types of pupil-pupil and pupil-teacher interaction take place in it? What range of alternative responses and freedom of action is allowed in it? What social values are communicated? What are the playground and classroom norms of the society of children at the sixth-grade level? How is the mobile child viewed by his peers, his teachers, and himself? How does he and those around him in school articulate his experience of strangership?

To answer these and other questions, we did field-work in schools. By field work is meant anthropological field work, the kind that an anthropologist does in an exotic setting. It is also known as participant observation, an immersion of the observer in the life of those around him and his use of himself as a human filter to screen reality. The difference between anthropological field work and the survey or mailed questionnaire method is that in field work, data are not collected by remote control; the field worker is on the spot and *experiences* his data. Whereas a survey researcher may be content with tabulating responses checked, for example, as "favorable", he would not know what induced his respondents to check a particular response; the field worker, on the other hand, knows the whys and wherefores and is thus in a better position to interpret his data. In addition, *a priori* assumptions that the survey researcher may hold dear may not be important in the life or work of those he is interested in studying. In other words, the anthropological field-worker deliberately trains himself in looking at things from the view point of the natives of the situation, and in giving them their heads and their voice. If he develops a questionnaire or an interview guide, he knows that the items are relevant to his informants' experiences. He thus collects naturalistic data.

Field-work data are data collected in an ethnographic manner and yielding observational protocals and field notes that treat the classroom as a slice of life (cf. Jules Henry's and Marie M. Hughes' classroom observations).[1] The observer views the classroom as a little society, notes the interchange between teacher and pupils (the sequence of events, the reactions, the eloquent glance or grunt, the influence structure and distribution, the whole interactional ecology) and records, on paper, as many verbatim statements as possible (the Jules Henry method) or records in his head (the Everett C. Hughes method) a tape that he unreels as soon as he has access to a Grey Audograph machine, a notebook, or a typewriter. The first method, with its high verbatim statements output, is more linguistic than interactional; the second method, with its emphasis on a larger perspective and more attention to the social context, is more interactional. Both methods turn the human observer into a precision instrument, a camera and a tape recorder at the same time, a selective video-tape editor. In our field work in schools, we used both the Henry and Hughesian methods; the former for concentrated one-to-two hours of classroom observation; the latter, especially for more prolonged observations on the playground and for all-day school observations.

Field work is also known as unstructured observation. No observation, of course, is totally unstructured; what is meant by "unstructured" in this context is that the observer does not use a rigid checklist of a priori items but deliberately trains himself in seeing things according to the people who are caught up in the situation, be it schooling for the pupil or school teaching for the teacher. The observer can never allow himself to be enamored of his hypotheses; he develops hypotheses in the field situation itself and is always ready to "junk" them if he finds out that they fall short of the mark or are not anchored in the data. For the observer, the hypotheses he develops in the field situation are lenses to haul facts into focus, to make sense out of the human drama he witnesses and is part of; if such hypotheses do not pull in a meaningful range of data and interrelationships, then they are modified or discarded. A search for contrary evidence and alternate explanations is always at the back of the observer's mind. Tentative hypotheses to be tested in the full range of available phenomena is a continuous field work process.

Field work is a method for enlargement of awareness, for meaningful understanding. The observer deliberately views the familiar as if it were unfamiliar; he looks for unobvious things that lie behind the obvious; he uncovers hidden similarities and conceptualizes them. Although anthropological field work has been mainly carried out in exotic overseas settings, several sociologists, especially those whose orientation is that of the Chicago school of sociology, have employed it in the study of American institutions. For according to the Chicago school, the sociologist is defined as an anthropologist of his society, viewing it at a critical distance, taking the stance of the stranger towards it, and employing field work as his method of study. In their work, sociologists such as Everett C. Hughes, Howard S. Becker, Blanche Geer, Erving Goffman, Herbert J. Gans, and others have precisely done that.[2] William Foote Whyte in his study of a Boston Italian Neighborhood (Street Corner Society), Carl Whithers (under nom de plume, James West) in his study of a Southern Missouri small town (Plainville, USA), and John R. Seeley and associates, in their study of an upper middle-class North American suburb (Crestwood Heights), have also been anthropologists of American culture.[3] Classically, of course, American culture has been fortunate enough in that Alexis de Tocqueville did not conduct a national statistical survey but wrote his famous book, American Democracy, on the basis of participant observation -- a book which after more than a century still intrigues us with its cogent formulations.[4]

In the school, and especially in the classroom, the field worker cannot be a full participant; he is more of an observer than a participant. He may deliberately force himself to view the school as a tribal or exotic society, but he is familiar with both its language, symbolism, and value system. He hardly experiences the culture shock that the anthropologist in overseas settings goes through. His experience is essentially that of empathy for both the inmates and headmen of the institution. He may come up with unexpected data, but his formulations are basically those that have guided sociologists and anthropologists in the study of various societies. Essentially, the fieldworker of schools emerges through the act of allowing a dynamic independence to events that schoolmen only passively include in their educational framework -- e.g., informal networks of pupils and rituals of induction -- and through conceptualization of the pupils' viewpoints as an equally legitimate way of understanding the school. The field worker in schools, as the anthropological field worker everywhere, is always intrigued by humans as symbol-makers and symbol-consumers, by their mythologies and hierarchies, folkways and mores, and formal and informal social networks. His "bag" is what Robert Redfield has called "the universally human and culturally variable". Whereas the survey researcher who is questionnaire-centered may be said to be twice removed from his data, the field worker is fully immersed in his data -- he knows "Where it's at", can "tell it like it is", and "digs the nitty-gritty" of the situation. The survey researcher knows a little about a large number of people; the field worker, a lot about a smaller number. The former is extensive on a thin basis; the latter is intensive on a thick one, for his specialty is the comprehensive case study, the ethnography of the little community.[5]

Until recently, field work has been an oral tradition; few people have written about it as a method.[6] Usually, field work has been done by one person and not more than two. But recently, as in this project, teams of field workers, e.g., four people at a time, have been employed on various projects. Formerly, as part of their course work, teams of college students used to collect data on a given institution; more recently, full-time staff members have been employed in this capacity. Quite often, staff members have to be trained to do field work, for they usually are only familiar with survey research and quantitative, rather than qualitative, methods. The author, for example, having been a field worker in schools and other institutions for a number of years, and having taught field work to graduate students, was in a position to conduct training sessions for staff members who were to be field workers on the project by including them in his regular university course as if they were students and giving them a chance to develop skills in various agencies and institutions prior to starting their field work in schools included in this project. Several of them were also trained in interviewing in addition to observation.

In 1964-65, we made 259 school observations that centered primarily on the 30 classrooms in our sample of that year. These observations ranged from one to two hours in duration. In addition, each field worker spent two to five full days at each school, from early morning till closing time. In 1965-66, we modified our observational plan a bit: we thought it advisable to concentrate on some classrooms within each school more than others. This we did in order that each of our field workers might get to know at least 60-65 children (two classrooms) very well. From Group I of our 1965-66 classrooms (those where military dependents constituted a majority), we designated 2 classrooms for primary attention; from Group II (those where military dependents and local pupils were about half and half), 4; and from Group III (where local pupils were a majority), 4. Thus out of the 28 classrooms in the 1965-66 sample, 10 were designated for primary attention; the rest, for less intensive study. (In this manner, those pupils selected from the 10 core classrooms for scheduled interviews in our 1965-66 overall pupil interview sample were better known to our field workers; rapport between interviewer and interviewee was already established. Of 339 school observations made in 1965-66, 206 were made in the 10 "core" classrooms and 133 in the 18 auxilliary ones. All in all, of every 3 visits to a school, 2 were devoted to the "core" classrooms and 1 to the auxiliary ones.

The field-work data we collected in 1964-65 and 1965-66 consisted of informal conversations with school personnel (especially teachers) and pupils, classroom and playground observations, observations of school assembly and interaction on school buses, in dining rooms, faculty meetings, and so forth. Our field notes helped us interpret pupil interviews, achievement data, sociometric data, self-concept data, data on geographic mobility and locality, and other topics we discussed in the previous chapters.

What did we learn from our field work? The field worker, in any situation or institution, usually collects mountains of data -- more data than he can ever use. This is part and parcel of field work as a method, for field notes are written as narratives and encompass everything the field worker encounters. He records everything regardless of whether it seemed important for him to record or not, for things that may seem momentarily unimportant may turn out to be of crucial importance later on, that is, they may suggest regularities in the social structure that the field worker may not at first have thought important or they may suggest clues for further exploration of a given point or hypothesis.[7]

For purposes of this project, our field work data are classifiable as follows: (a) data on the school as a social institution, on teaching and learning and on pupil culture; (b) data on the attitude of teachers to mobile pupils; and (c) data on the phenomenology of the school-age stranger. Interpretation of field-work data is more inductive than deductive, it depends on something that Goethe has termed an _Anschauung_, a capacity to discern and feel the general in the particular; a mental process by which the person, through observation and intuition, spontaneously grasps a thing in its wholeness; a total grasp of pattern, of coherence of central elements, of the center of gravity in social phenomena, of the unity of permanence and change; a total perspective focused on the unity of opposites, on seeing things in larger and larger contexts, of linking hidden similarities -- in short, an integrative vision, a configuration. If this explanation of _Anschauung_ sounds poetic or philosophical, or more in the realm of what a Goethe, a Mommsen, a Burckhardt, a Toynbee, a Plato, a Shakespeare, a Milton, a Simmel, or an Edward Sapir can do, then we can assure the reader that the ordinary sociologist, although guided by the principle of _Anschauung_, knows that intuition is but a variety of trained perception, culturally programmed, and heavily influenced by the conventional wisdom of others. In the final analysis the field worker, because of his interest in cumulative knowledge, draws his interpretation from what is available in his occupational literature; he may modify what is available but can never create something absolutely new. For us, for example, socio-cultural formulations make sense, not clinical ones, and thus guide our interpretation of data.

One of the best known socio-cultural categorization schemes for analysis of field work data dealing with schools is Jules Henry's "A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education" (Current Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 267-305, July 1960). We did not follow Henry's outline because it was primarily cross-cultural and because it made no provision for the study of geographic mobility.

In the following sections of this chapter, we shall summarize and interpret our data on the public school as a social institution, concentrating on what is, after all, the focus of this study: the experience of the mobile child as a constant stranger.

The purpose of field work, among other things, is to develop hypotheses that can be tested in a range of institutions: What may be true of the school may be true of other social settings such as the factory, church, prison, or hospital. In this chapter, our purpose will be to develop a socio-cultural framework for the study of public schools, a framework that may be useful to researchers interested in a range of institutions or to people interested in the process of education. Of necessity, we will focus on the abstract and a synthesis of various formulations.

A. The School as a Social Institution

A social institution may be defined as an agency of social control. People are processed by institutions throughout their lives: the family, school, church, college, hospital, factory, or prison -- in baptism, work, sickness, health, marriage, incarceration, and death. As Arnold Gehlen maintains, institutions, as regulatory agencies and guardians of integrative symbols in society, confront the person with a massive reality; they channel his conduct in much the same way as instincts channel the behavior of animals.[8] In this sense, institutions among humans are seen as a substitute for instinct. That the school is an agency of social control, of turning the child into a pupil, is well-known by both pupils and parents. The notion of social control, of controllers and the controlled, is also found in Sumner's definition of an institution: a set of functionaries formally established to deal with the person at various junctures in his life.[9] That is to say that the daily business of institutions is socialization, of turning the person into a social being according to specific cultural norms.

An institution is a rigid part of the social structure. As Cooley maintains, an institution is "made up of persons, but not of whole persons; each one enters into it with a trained and specialized part of himself".[10] This means that in an institution the most important thing about the person is what can be called his "basic institutional role" --

being a pupil or a teacher; a warden or an inmate; a doctor or a patient. Unless the basic institutional role is satisfied, no other roles or personal capacities can be allowed to come into play. It is when the child satisfies his pupil role vis-a-vis the headmen of the school that he is allowed to be more of himself; if not, then not, for nothing in an institutional setting takes precedence over one's basic role. (The same is also true of the family, for there, for example, the person is considered first and foremost a son or a daughter, in spite of the fact that he may be occupationally famous as a physician, college professor, movie star, or gangster.) That persons enter institutions only with parts of themselves, as Cooley asserts, and not with their total being, explains for us the tension and hostility that are quite often perennial between functionaries and clients, be they teachers and pupils, doctors and patients, or wardens and inmates. It also suggests for us the definition of an institution as a network of hierarchical roles that are in delicate balance. In an institution, functionaries and clients have a "fated mutuality" -- they are defined with reference to each other and in terms of each other. They are teachers and the taught, administrators and the administered, counselors and counselees, and so forth. The "patients make the doctor"; the taught, the teacher. Functionaries and clients form a social system; one cannot exist without the other.

It is in this context of tension between practitioners and clients that we can understand Willard Waller's assertion that the essential characteristic of interaction in the school is ceremonious fighting.[11] Potentially and actually, according to Waller, superiors and subordinates are natural enemies; in the school setting, it is teachers and students. This means that when the chips are down, both students and teachers know which party is on which side of the authority line. (Some students, and some teachers, continually operate on the premise that, at any moment, the chips may be down.) Congenial teachers may forget the authority line or dislike it, but no student can afford to forget that the teacher can terminate equality relations; it is usually up to the teacher to revoke relations, not the student. In other words, the terms of formal teacher-student relations are decided unilaterally; potentially it is a one-sided relationship. Usually, students who are interested in learning and in finishing school can put up with the authority system of the school. Obviously, formal authority is contingent upon not being used all the time. The teacher usually husbands her authority; she cannot send children to the principal all the time. In other words, the teacher is not as free as children think she is.[12] That children are aware of the authority system of the school and of their formalistic relationship with their teachers was amply documented in the last chapter, the chapter dealing with interviews with sixth-graders.

This leads us to look at the balance of relations in the school. Equilibrium in social relations in institutions is perhaps just a temporary stability; it is never uniform.

or complete all the time. This means that in the daily life of the school, social relations constitute a negotiated order[13] between superiors and subordinates; it is up to the teacher to consider the student an equal, not vice-versa (the same is true of principal vs. teachers). Both students and teachers engage in bargaining tactics to achieve a negotiated order. That equilibrium is a temporary stability is seen clearly when a substitute teacher comes to a classroom and the students get the upper hand for a change! (See the last chapter for discussion of the "fooling around" ethos of sixth-graders and their inclination to bait both substitute and student-teachers.) Within the formal rules of institutions, for both superiors and subordinates, there is room for maneuver; ceremonious fighting and behavioral bargains seem to be at the core of social relations.

In this context, we are reminded of Park's definition of society as a group of competitive sub-groups that are in temporary balance -- a definition that cuts across both the school and society and on the basis of which we can make a case for the school as a "small society". In Park's formulations, human collectivities are essentially seen as ecological systems whose competitively-cooperative elements are balanced against one another and society itself is regarded as a patterned accommodation.[14]

Institutions, as Malinowski has indicated, have a synthetic rather than a unitary function.[15] What is church-like about the school? What is family-like about it? What is factory-like, hospital-like, and prison-like about it? If you listen to a principal talking in an assembly before the whole school and stressing individualism, democracy, good work-habits, and the like, you think you were hearing a minister addressing his congregation. Schools, as Peter L. Berger has said, are churches for drilling children in the religion of democracy.[16] The point is that there has been a shift in the sacred-secular dichotomy in society and that the school, although officially a secular institution, does quite often perform a sacred function. In a sense, school teaching can be considered a religious occupation.

The school, as Waller maintains, is a "museum of virtue".[17] The dichotomy between the idealized world of the child and the realistic one of the adult is institutionalized in the school.[18] Schools, as Sumner has emphasized, teach the predominant orthodoxy of society, not the full range of beliefs and values in society.[19]

In schools where there is an emphasis on production, the endless test battery-scores and marking business make the school resemble a factory. It is as if teachers were employed on a piece-work basis and -- as expected -- would resort to rate busting. (We have more fully explored the factory aspects of the school in our sociological discussion of academic achievement, Chapter III.) On the other hand, some schools do seem like little hospitals, with "special adjustment rooms" for emotionally-disturbed children and school counselors who love to "play doctor" even to non-maladjusted children.[20]

Indeed, some public schools, because of the occupational ideology of school counselors seem to operate quite often as if they were a Rogerian theological seminary.

As Goffman says, "What is prison-like about prisons is found in institutions whose members have broken no laws".[21] Patients, prisoners, and students -- persons for whom services are organized -- have no voice in the operation of hospitals, jails, or schools; if they do, it is only as token participation; their committees and councils are carefully controlled.[22] That is to say that institutions are primarily run to meet the needs of administrators, not pupils. The educational slogans of "meeting the needs of the whole child" and "adapting the school to the child, not the child to the school" are worthy ideals that are often honored in the breach, for among other things, the teachers themselves according to many school administrators, have no needs to be met -- only children do -- and it is unrealistic to expect the teacher whose needs are not met to "meet the needs" of pupils. Jules Henry, John Holt, Edgar Friedenberg, Murray Wax, Solon Kimball -- among others -- have described the public school as a rigid bureaucracy run for the convenience of administrators not students:[23] Peace in the hallways, law and order in the classroom, written corridor-passes for the student before he can walk down the hall to the library or the toilet, and a well-supervised three-minute march from the playground to the classroom. From the student's viewpoint, not the administrators', this is a coercive restriction on his freedom, not a meeting of his needs.

Perhaps it can be said that the school has to avoid disorder by enforcing a set of rigid rules. This, of course, is indicative of the assumptions schoolmen have about pupils, that is, that pupils cannot be entrusted with a modicum of freedom. Recent educational experimentation in both England and the United States, both at the elementary and secondary school levels, shows that the school need not be run like a tight ship but that its young inhabitants can be entrusted with more freedom and do respond to trust with trust.

In all the classrooms we have observed, the teacher is in charge of both conduct control and content control. The interaction is usually between pupil and teacher and, if between pupil and pupil, is usually mediated by the teacher. Both the verbal and non-verbal behavior of children is under the control of the teacher. Some teachers, of course, are more lenient than others, but in the classroom, it is always the teacher who "calls the shots". On the playground, children have more autonomy in running their own society.

In some classrooms, children have to stand up beside their desks to read. The teacher emits a constant array of orders: "Sit up straight"; "Sit up straight with hands on desk"; "Clean your desk-top and don't have any books out". Children have to file out for movement from place to place. Entering the classroom or leaving it is done with military precision: the kids line up; every row is dismissed separately; the teacher "calls the shots". Children, in a goodly number of classrooms, are constantly enjoined to be quiet, even not to whisper. On a number of occasions, some children were afraid even to request the teacher to allow them to close a window from which the draft got to be unbearable in cold weather.

Lavatory use in elementary schools seems to be a big issue: lavatories are for synchronized group use, not individual use. Some schools have what is known as a "bathroom break" or "lavatory break". Pupils have to line up to go to the toilet and line up when they come out of it. It would be no surprise if lining up to do everything was a constant item in the sixth-grader's dreams! In our interviews with sixth-graders many have said "school is prison", considering themselves inmates. Several were thankful to their classroom clocks: "If we didn't have clocks, we wouldn't get out of school". (For other aspects of the school as a jail, see the preceding chapter on interviews with pupils.)

In some schools, because of overcrowded cafeteria facilities, sixth-graders are only allowed 15 minutes for lunch. Not only that, but a rule of silence is enforced; no one is allowed to talk, not even whisper, during lunch, which, voluntarily, also includes the teacher. Under these circumstances, children develop an elaborate non-verbal language as if they were prison inmates, monastery recluses, or postulants in a Buddhist lamasery. Middle-class Americans, as some anthropologists have observed, tend usually to be gesturally deprived and non-verbally illiterate[24], but not these sixth-graders under these circumstances: they have mobile, not grim, faces; they smile with their eyes rather than their teeth; and they have subtle hand, head, and shoulder movements rather than a frozen posture.

In some schools, principals use the public-address (P.A.) system as a form of electronic surveillance of both teachers and pupils. In a hushed, quiet voice, the principal keeps tabs on teachers, asking them to send down their lists of library books, supplies, etc. The class has several interruptions of this sort every day; it is a one-way P.A. system under which the teacher cannot talk back!

In addition, several children are commandeered daily to carry books, supplies, equipment, and especially handwritten notes from teacher to teacher. These "school couriers", as we would like to call them, escape the monotony of the classroom by running errands for principal and teachers; they also help alleviate other children's classroom monotony by their barging-in and barging-out. In some cases, however, school couriers, through their mail-carrying activities, help the principal indulge his passion for keeping close, but unnecessary, watch over teachers.

Besides couriers, there are other offices for children. These, for example, include "helpers" and "monitors" -- categories of children who at times serve as assistant teachers or as intermediaries between teachers and classmates. As some sixth-graders have indicated to us, to be whimsically treated by the teacher is one thing, to be arbitrarily oppressed by "monitors" is another. Many sixth-graders objected to the disciplinary powers of the "monitors" who not only distribute books in the classroom but are quite often charged with writing down the names of fellow pupils who misbehave when the teacher is not in the room.

It can be said that the school is not only an academy but a place where the pupil acquires an identity. The pupil, in a sense, lives in the classroom daily. Both his teachers and classmates make assumptions as to what he should do and get, and hence, what he should be. A social organization such as the classroom can thus be viewed as a place for generating assumptions about one's identity; that is to say, a pupil's participation in the classroom has self-defining implications.[25] Of crucial importance in this respect is George Herbert Mead's notion that a person perceives and defines himself as he believes others perceive and define him.[26] In this context, we can see the importance of the teacher as a definer of identity for the pupil as well as the importance of classmates in this regard; also the power role of designated pupil intercessionists and intermediaries whom the teacher calls "monitors". In the school, among other things, the pupil learns to make out, to work the system.

How the child, under school auspices, is turned into a pupil is a sociologically-intriguing topic. School-imposed routines and rules, plus a segmentation of the day into clock-time slices help this process along.[27] The child feels, like Weber's professional and Simmel's stranger, narrowed down and participating only with part of himself. In the school, the pupil's day is totally controlled, even his emotionally-redeeming "recess"; school people confront him with a massive reality; as a result of coercive maneuvers, he makes the school's code his own -- or tries to. It is in this sense that schooling is both imprisonment and indoctrination, and the school a boot-camp for both.

What is schooling as a cultural process? In this connection, we would like to summarize Jules Henry's argument, adding appropriate comments[26]:

1. Education is culture writ small. Schools are institutions for drilling children in cultural orientations. Children are trained to fit the culture as it exists.
2. In the school, children learn several things at the same time; they learn cultural sympathies, anxieties, and antagonisms as part and parcel of learning curricular subject matter. Subject matter is the instrument for instilling cultural orientations. Social studies is the means for explaining to children what middle-classed teachers understand by democracy.
3. Schools are the central conserving force of the culture; they bear the burden of cultural preoccupations and obsessions; they are always against some things and for others. Schooling is not only a communication of behavioral "models", but also of "anti-models" and "non-models". At the same time that children are trained to like certain things, they are trained to spurn or ignore other things.

4. In fitting children to the culture, in the process of training them in what is culturally necessary and preventing their deviation, the school acts as an instrument for narrowing the perceptual sphere of children. In essence, socialization is focusing the trainee's vision on something in terms of what the trainers consider relevant.
5. Schools can manage to deal with masses of children only by reducing them to a common definition, by homogenizing them culturally. For such definition, the school creates an "essential nightmare" for children, providing them with the fears necessary to drive them away from failure and towards success. For the child, learning the nightmare in the coercive environment of the school is learning to be stupid, to be absurd. To be an idiot is part of growing up! Schooling is a weaning into adulthood, and adulthood is culturally defined.
6. In order that society may not have chaos or more creativity than it can handle, the function of schooling has never been to free the mind and the spirit of man, but to bind them. Some modern educators, in becoming obsessed with destroying the cultural nightmare created by their predecessors for school children, have tried to make the school an environment for impulse release and fun. Ordinary subjects become glamorized beyond recognition, e.g., in the titles of such sixth-grade books as "Adventures in Spelling", "Arithmetic We Need",

and "Living Together around the World" -- let alone the book-titles that stress fun or are akin to "Shakespeare without Tears". The fun ethos in education may have made children happier but less responsible intellectually.

7. Because of the confinement of children in the classroom and the restriction of their movement within it, two classroom phenomena are particularly noticeable:
   (a) To relieve tension and boredom, to escape physical constraint, children exaggerate what they are permitted to do, e.g., raising their hands, going to the pencil-sharpener, or looking for a book. At times, their physical coercion is akin to a man in a strait-jacket moving his toes.
   (b) Since some classrooms have a rule of silence, children, like prison inmates, develop a versatile gestural language to communicate with one another, e.g., "hushed voices -- the nuances coming from the eyes".

Some of Henry's notions about education as a cultural process are similar to those of Durkheim. According to Durkheim, the purpose of education is to prepare the person to participate in the national as well as the local culture.[29] In terms of its values and tradition, and primarily through its schools, each society insists upon turning out a certain kind of social product, a prevalent type of person.[30] Thus education is a "methodical socialization of the young generation"; it is "the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual, and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the physical milieu for which he is specifically destined".[31] In this respect, education is seen not merely as schooling or enculturation but also as a missionizing activity especially paramount in a multi-colored and multi-ethnic nation-state. As Durkheim points out in another essay, schools are guardians of the national character.[32] The contribution of American public schools to national unity in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultured and sub-cultured society is well known.

So far, we have, among other things, concentrated on the classroom as a control system. It can be said that in the school, autonomy is actually structured for both adults and children within a general framework of compliance.[33] Obviously, there are patterns and degrees of such autonomy in the work of various school functionaries -- e.g., principal, vice-principal, regular teachers, team teachers, substitute teachers, student teachers, "para-professionals", "sub-professionals", "lay-readers", itinerant subject-matter specialists such as speech and art teachers, school secretaries, and janitors -- in relation to school clients, pupils. Principalship bears on pupilship, but it is teachership that is interlocked with it. Before we discuss teaching and learning, we would like to deal briefly with two main administrative roles in schools: the superintendency and principalship.

It can be said that the school superintendent is essentially a broker of power; his job is that of political mediation between various groups and establishment of a power-base to accomplish such mediation. Public institutions -- be they schools, hospitals, or churches -- are governed by laymen (school boards, boards of trustees, vestries) and run by professionals. To survive in the layman-professional conflict, the superintendent functions essentially as a politician, a bond-issue compaigner, and a public relations man.[34] Although educational literature enjoins him to be an "instructional leader" for most of his waking hours, there is usually an assistant superintendent or a curriculum expert at the central office who usually pays full-time attention to instructional policies. As the top manager, the superintendent, neither directly nor daily, affects the lives of pupils.

In the school, the principal may be regarded as a foreman, mediating between the school system's central office and his school, and between parents, teachers, counselors, and pupils. That seems to be the core of his job, although educational literature in its emphasis on what a principal should be rather than what he is, often depicts him as an instructional leader spending most of his time in the "supervision of instruction" even of post-probationary teachers and in creating a Sunday-school world for "lay participation."[35] In particular, as every school observer knows, the principal is especially wary of those central-office personnel -- often officially designated not as supervisors or inspectors but as subject-matter "consultants" and "coordinators" -- who (to use an old-fashioned terminology) go to and fro in the hope that knowledge would increase, but who actually constitute a large corps that can be called "maintainers of the system". These "consultants" essentially carry news to the central office and engage in informal as well as formal evaluation of principals, teachers, and pupils. School systems -- with their scattered units that are administered as if they were citadels or tribal reservations -- are run, perhaps more than any other institution, on the basis of politics and gossip; the principal, for all practical purposes, has to be a master of public relations and an expert on controlling gossip networks. Unlike the superintendent's, the principal's presence in the school does have a bearing on the lives of children, for he is primarily an agent of discipline and social control.

In discussing various occupational roles in the school system, we are tempted to add a very brief note about teachers. Teachers are members of an "emergent profession"; as an occupational group, they have not yet been accorded the pay or prestige commensurate with their efforts. Like any oppressed group, they tend to have elaborate labels for those below them in status; hence, perhaps, "para-professionals" (cf. para-typhoid), "sub-professionals" and other designations that teachers at times use as a form of educational white-backlash against those they want to be differentiated from and whom they consider inadmissable to their own "professional" fold.

Regardless of the professional "hang-ups" of occupational groups, what is teaching sociologically or non-sociologically viewed? Teaching can be defined as being responsible for the pupil's response. It is an activity imbued with exchange, a chancy business where pupils bargain for autonomy and certain rights and privileges. Competitive cooperation between teacher and pupils, and pupils and pupils, characterizes classroom interaction. Overworked teachers routinize their activities in order to cope with the many demands on their time and energy -- instruction, study-hall and playground supervision, paper work, and other types of "dirty work" and "busy work" for the institution. For some teachers, there is happiness in routine and inertia, yet school administrators, after pushing teachers to routinize their work, quite often accuse them of not being innovative enough or desiring of change. "Discipline" seems to be the most important thing that principals judge teachers by. In time, what discourages beginning teachers may become prized by them: the bargaining game with pupils for control of the class.[36]

Teaching is one of the occupations where practioners grow older but their clients stay about the same age (cf. pediatricians). The teacher's immersion into the life of children quite often leads to her acculturation to it -- baby talk, simple syntax, and the least abstract manner of putting an idea in words. It is as if elementary-school teaching unfits the teacher for the adult world. What teaching does to some teachers, in the way of rigidity of outlook, fear of children, and relentless sensitivity to one's dignity is cogently discussed by Waller.[37]

J. M. Stephens has defined teaching as a form of warm-hearted nagging! The good teacher is the one who capitalizes on pupils' primitive and spontaneous tendencies for play and exploration; she is also the one who spaces her classroom presentations with well-timed pauses so that the material can sink in and be linked, in the pupil's mind, with his experiences.[38]

Other writers, such as John Holt, have discussed both how children fail and how children learn, and how the school, through its social organization, is conducive to under-achieving rather than achievement.[39] George Dennison has shown that without deliberately learning the pupil's sub-culture, the teacher can neither "reach" the pupil nor meaningfully communicate with him; that with doing so, she can have amazing success.[40]

In our field-work in schools, we informally asked several teachers to define teaching. Some said it was "meeting the child's needs", "making him need what I think he should need", or "coping with individual differences in the classroom". Others thought of teaching as inculcating values, a process of instilling, a mission to civilize. (By values teachers mean ideal values, not lust or greed, violence or racism, although these may be actual values in the community.) Some teachers mentioned that children's emotional development was the most important goal in teaching; they seemed to consider themselves special emissaries or ambassadors from the world of adults to that of kids. Several teachers mentioned that classroom control, or discipline, was the most essential ingredient of teaching. As one teacher half jokingly and half seriously put it, "Teaching is maintaining a semblance of order in the classroom so that you can pound some knowledge into the kids' heads".

With regard to the teacher's style and the response of pupils, the classrooms we observed can be divided into the following types: those that were tightly controlled by the teacher; those in which the teacher deliberately encouraged the pupils to ask questions and provide comments; those that were a mixture of both permissiveness and control; and those in which "anything goes" seemed to be the rule. In the tightly controlled classrooms, the teacher spent from one-third to one-half of her time issuing orders or injunctions: "No, I said not to open that book"; "I did not ask anyone to talk..."; "Did you make a mistake already?" "You all know that we don't leave the room until I dismiss you, so you all better be quiet or we will not leave"; "straighten out your desks and pick up papers off the floor -- you know you don't go if there is talking when the bell rings; this set of tables is crooked"; and especially the constant admonitions to be quiet, quiet, quiet. The "tight control" teachers had lots of rules and reprimands for children: rules for proceeding with exercises; rules for the way finished papers should look (e.g., straight lines, use of pen instead of pencil); rules for correcting and changing answers; endless reminders of the aforementioned rules; and rules for leaving the classroom.

"If I have any foolishness as I had yesterday, you will go to the office. I shan't remind you (note the grammatically-elegant 'shan't'). I will just send you -- I will ask you to leave my room immediately. I won't get worked up like I did yesterday with your foolishness. Remember, no warnings." "Charles, you used the literal meaning and disregarded the figurative completely. Some of you that I expected to do well certainly disappointed me... Today you will have a chance to redeem yourselves."

In addition to close supervision of children's work ("remember, you are all going to use a new sheet even if you have a clean side on your old sheet -- everyone will use a new sheet... what did I just say Robert?") and issuing elaborate orders for each row of pupils to stand before dismissal, the "tight control" teacher presents herself to the class as sole arbiter of knowledge ("remember, if you hit something you don't understand, come and ask me and I'll be glad to clear it up for you") or even as a customs officer: "Charles, is that clay? If you bring clay into this classroom again I'll confiscate it, I promise you. I am warning you, don't let me see it". In the worst classrooms we saw, the teacher gave a rule or reprimand every three or four minutes. Fortunately the worst kind of "tight control" classrooms were very few in number.

In the "tight control" classrooms pupils were apathetic; the teacher discouraged voluntary pupil participation by determining the class's assignments and the way the assignments were to be executed -- she, alone, was the ultimate judge of the class and the purveyor of all rewards and punishments.

In what we'd like to call the "constructive control" classrooms, the teacher did give specific rules for doing exercises and other assignments, but she was not too concerned with the way finished papers should look nor with an elaborate procedure for dismissal of pupils from the room ("stand up; wait; row one; row two..."etc.). The "constructive control" teacher was never constantly critical of petty things, e.g., whether a pupil used a pen with a thick point or not; she never badgered her pupils to complete tasks in unrealistically short periods of time; she always found it necessary to give pupils some indication of what was expected of them; she allowed question-and-answer periods in her class, encouraged independent work in the library, and occasionally assigned group projects to children. The "constructive control" teacher differed from the "tight control" one in the way she exercised her power; she encouraged, rather than discouraged, children. (Note: Because the greatest majority of elementary school teachers are women, we have used the pronoun "she" rather than "he" to refer to teachers. This use is generic rather than specific.) More than half of the classrooms we observed were of the "constructive control" type.

The mixed "tight control" and "constructive control" classrooms were few in number. Essentially, they were more tight than constructive, but never approached the severe control stage. The "anything goes" classrooms were laissez-faire ones; pupils liked their freedom but never learnt anything from the teacher, only from their classmates. There were three classrooms of this type, two run by beginning teachers.

In the "tight control" classrooms, the social distance between the teacher and pupils was quite clear. Even the physical distance was pronounced, for the pupils seemed to be afraid to come anywhere near the teacher or close to her desk. In other types of classrooms, the situation between teacher and pupils could be characterized as "intimacy at a distance". More than on the basis of social or physical distance between the teacher and pupils, we can interpret the different teaching styles and pupils' reactions to such styles in terms of the teacher's own attitude to her work, her support or lack of support to her self-conception as a teacher. We would like to call this "role distance", "role closeness", and "role neutrality". The three concepts refer to a particular occupational status, stance, or identity; they are part of the individual's interpretation of expectations related to the performance of his work and his willingness or unwillingness to associate, dissociate, or be non-commital towards these expectations because of their enhancement, threat, or irrelevance to his self-conception. In other words, these notions refer to the teacher's self-conception as a teacher. Sociological literature has only emphasized role-distance,[41] but we can see the applicability of other phenomena on the continuum suggested by role-distance--role-closeness and role-neutrality -- to the work of the teacher.

In "tight-control" classrooms, the teacher has "role distance", an aversion to what she does. She seems to be estranged from her work and thus from herself, for in our society, work is a major basis for identity. Indeed, role-distance in the teacher's classroom work seems to be a form of alienation.

"Role distance" seems to apply to some of the beginning teachers, to teachers who define their pupils as of low ability, and to teachers in classrooms where there is such a high rate of in-coming and out-going pupils that the classroom population remains fluid and transient. The teacher dislikes herself and her charges.

In "constructive control" classrooms, we can say that the teacher has "role closeness" -- she likes what she does; her pupils as her reference group enhance her self-conception as a teacher and she in turn enhances their self-conceptions as learners.

In classrooms that are characterized by "constructive control" within a general context of a tight one, the teacher can be said to have a minor, rather than a major, role-distance. "Laissez-faire" classrooms seem to be "tight control" classrooms in reverse; their teachers seem to have a major "role-distance". Men teachers in elementary school who are destined to leave teaching in two or three years and know they are promotable into administrative positions seem to have "role neutrality". We offer "role distance," "role closeness", and "role neutrality" as a tentative formulation in looking at the style of work of school teachers, principals, and members of other occupational groups. These concepts may be also applicable to children in their occupational role as pupils. Role distance, closeness, and neutrality may be useful as constructs to link the person and the institution, the person and his work, and the person and his reference groups.

In all classrooms and especially at the beginning of the school year, children try to figure out what the teacher has in mind, what the correct response she wants can be. To "psych out" the teacher becomes a constant game. For example, a child may say that Asia and Europe are "named Eurasia because they are together"; the teacher wants him to say "because they have no natural boundaries". Or, a child might say "Shakespeare was a poet", but the teacher would say, "Yes, but that's not complete" -- the word she is after is "playwright". Obviously, the incessant probing of the teacher for the right textbook answer often discourages children from ever initiating a discussion. This is boring to children; they often look as if they are listening to the teacher but actually tune out and never hear what the teacher is saying.

In classrooms composed predominantly of military dependents, children are encouraged to talk about their travels. The teacher quite often calls upon military dependents for expert advice on other countries; they act as classroom consultants to the teacher! If the topic is "storms and hurricanes", some military dependents may mention "typhoons in Hong Kong" and "huge trees blown down in Alaska" -- things they had seen first hand. At times, the teacher challenges the military dependent: '...When you were in Germany, what time did it get dark?' The child says, 'About 7:00.' The teacher says (slight frown), 'No, that's not true; it was about 10:00. How long have you been in America?' He says he has been in America for two years, that in the winter time it gets dark in Germany at 7:30, not 10:00. The teacher let that go -- she must have visited Germany in the summer!"

In social studies especially, some teachers seem to be awed by military dependents -- they actually are afraid to say the wrong thing about a country that a military dependent had been to, for many a teacher's knowledge of geography is a textbook one. Consider the following instance: "There is some talk about the extent of the children's travel, which seems to dazzle both teachers (sixth-grade teachers). Mrs. D says that after teaching the geography of Central America for 8 years, she finally took a trip there this summer and felt at last that she had something she could refer to. This year, she said, she has a student who has been in 7 of the countries in South or Central America and that also she has a student from Japan for the first time -- many of the children have been to Africa, Germany, England, etc. 'They are a sophisticated group... Travel doesn't mean very much to them.' Mrs. D says that military dependents know more about Germany than she does because 'they've been there'. Mrs. D and Mrs. G agree that the worldly experience of their pupils tends to make them (the teachers) feel 'provincial'. Mrs. G. comments that it may be hard on the few children in the class who haven't travelled, because so many of the contributions made in class do refer to 'when I was in Germany, I saw...'" Indeed, we have observed that not only the teachers are in competition with military dependents about knowledge of other countries, but local pupils as well. In many a classroom composed predominantly of military dependents, the typical response of local pupils -- at the same time jealous and sorrowful -- has been, "he (a military dependent) talks about Germany and I haven't even been to New Hampshire and Maine yet!" In classes where they are a decisive majority, military dependents set the tone for social studies; they have a prestige system among themselves whose basis is the number of countries one has been in. The more countries, the merrier; and the more countries in which one has met a current classmate, the better prestige for both, e.g., "Yeah, I knew 'Cuckoo-head' in Germany (referring to a friend who was also talking with the observer)."

On the other hand, local pupils in classes composed predominantly of them set the tone for the sixth-graders' prestige system. The basis of such system is knowledge of local school folkways, folklore about the teachers and principal, and membership in sixth-grade cliques (called "our gang" or "bunch" by sixth-graders).

In a word, we can say what is well-known: There is a "military brat" culture centered on exclusion of outsiders and on travel as a basis for the sixth-graders' prestige system; there is also a "local brat" culture centered on knowledge of the local school's and local community's folkways. These two cultures are predominant where each group predominates, that is, in what we have called "high" and "low" mobility classes. In this respect we would like to link the "military brat" culture and the "local brat" culture with the concept of "perspectives" in sociology. Institutional rules define interaction for persons and constrain their choices. In attempting to solve problematic situations of status and acceptability in an institutional setting, persons mediate their choices through informal groups, their peer groups, and develop a coordinated view. This is when "perspectives" arise, a concept that includes both self-conceptions and defenses, sets of beliefs and actions. As discussed by Becker and Geer, "perspectives" refer to ways of thinking and acting in a problematic situation,[42] such as the situation in which military dependents are confronted with both teachers and local pupils, or local pupils with both teachers and mobile pupils. The "military brat" and the "local brat" cultures are both self-conceptions and defenses, self-conceptions and offenses. Both cultures include aloofness from others and assertion of self-pride as elements in an ingroup-outgroup encounter. Both cultures have sexual bifurcation at the sixth-grade level -- two separate playground societies for boys and girls.

It should be noted that a few teachers in our project were themselves mobile, did understand the "military brat" culture, and were sensitive to the problem of strangership in mobility. They were the ones who took special care to help newcomers adjust to the school. They tended to be younger than other teachers.[43]

Anthropologically, it can be said that the history of any group is its official mythology.[44] Such history can be examined more objectively at the college level but not too objectively in elementary schools. Social studies readers, in American public schools, tend to be instruments of indoctrination, ways of building group-pride, ethnocentrism, and feelings of superiority. In America, ethnic groups do not have a shared historical experience, like for example Frenchmen have, an experience over centuries; hence, perhaps, the controversy that quite often erupts about how social studies should be taught and what should go into social studies readers. Books about social values intrigue Americans, for Americans are not agreed on social values (Goals for Americans and testimonials about goodness and virtue, such as This I Believe and other books, are readily bought by the average American). In a multi-ethnic society, marked by a large-scale physical and social mobility, agreement on shared values becomes an issue.

Some writers have analyzed children's readers. Jules Henry, for example, has deplored the exclusion of American Negroes from history books in American schools.[45] Klineberg has deplored the focus on well-scrubbed, vitamin-fed, fun-frenzied, white-faced, middle-class children in social studies readers, to the exclusion of other classes and groups.[46] Others such as Hofstadter, have delved into how anti-intellectualism is institutionalized in both American public schools and American life generally.[47] Still others, such as De Charms and Moeller, have analyzed how children's readers between 1800 and 1950 have de-emphasized achievement imagery and moral teaching and began to emphasize sociability and fun.[48] In the remaining part of this section, we would like to comment briefly on such matters, especially anti-intellectualism.

It is fascinating for us to observe a teacher spend a whole semester or more on the Pilgrim Fathers (pronounced "Pilgrim Faaathez" in New England) when she is supposed to teach American history beyond 1620. The children in that class knew everything they were supposed to know about the Pilgrim Fathers -- the voyage, the landing on Plymouth Rock, "Prisciller" (Priscilla), and the "Speak for yourself, John" reflected in the hovering smiles and gleaming eyes of sixth-grade girls as they mentally file it for future reference! In that class, George Washington and the non-Pilgrim-Fathers' events of American history received, at the end of the term, cursory treatment as something not that important! What the children learnt, and enjoyed learning, was the Pilgrim Fathers.

This was a class composed predominantly of local New England children. They and the teacher took pride, and justifiably so, in local history and the development of local patriotism. If the purpose of schooling, as Durkheim says, is to prepare the child to take part in the national as well as local culture, then these children and their teacher certainly got the local part well learnt. Ancestor worship can be excused, and what the Pilgrim Fathers and their descendants did to Pequot Indians and Quakers in New England could be discussed at the college level, not before.[49]

Some of the sixth-grade readers used in some schools are: (a) Robinson, Helen M., Cavalcades: Book 6, Scott-Foresman & Co., Chicago, 1965; (b) Eibling, H. H., et al., Our Beginnings in the Old World, Laidlow Bros., River Forest, Illinois, 1960; and (c) Drummond, H.D., The Eastern Hemisphere, Allyn & Bacon, Boston, 1961. In teaching history, the perceptual sphere of children is narrowed down to focus peculiarly on certain things rather than others. In some sixth-grade classrooms, American History is taught as a series of Sunday-School sermons about democracy, which recalls for us Peter L. Berger's definition of public schools as churches for drilling pupils in the religion of democracy (see footnote 16). On the other hand, non-American history is taught as "junk", especially Ancient History, about which two of the aforementioned readers have some salient facts. Sixth-graders, in some classrooms, seem to be persuaded by their teachers that the history of the world began in 1492 or 1620, that nothing of importance ever happened on this Earth prior to these dates. Indeed, when it comes to American history itself, nothing is mentioned about the Dutch Pilgrim Fathers; Spanish Pilgrim Fathers; the establishment of St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, Santa Fe, N. M., in 1605, or even New York (Nieuwe Amsterdam) in 1613 -- American history seems to start only with Plymouth, Mass., and Jamestown, Va. So much for cultural particularism as an American actuality rather than "cultural pluralism", for the freezer compartment rather than the so-called "melting pot."

Sixth-graders, or even some college students, seem to think that the most important field of study in Medieval Times was astrology or alchemy rather than philosophy or even theology. But it is in relation to Ancient History that the deep ignorance of some sixth-grade teachers really shines. "Teacher, in discussing early man (with reference to one of the aforementioned social studies readers): 'From later cave-men and women, and all that jazz, we move on to the next kind of people... What is a mummy other than a mother?' Girl: 'When someone did something wrong and they died, they wrapped them up in bandages.' Teacher: 'Do you mean a man in a hospital is a mummy?' Laughter from class and the kid looks puzzled." "Teacher: 'O, Suzanna (by way of calling on Susan Smith), can you say Sphinx four times?' The first time she pronounces the word correctly. After that she begins to lose faith. She mutters to herself 'He's a fink' (meaning, perhaps, both teacher and Sphinx)." "Teacher: 'What geometric shape is the pyramid? Now without using your hands, describe a pyramid.' Girl: 'It is an upside down V...with a bottom to it!' Teacher repeats her definition, goes to blackboard, draws the upside down V, and then puts a bottom to it. Teacher, somewhat sarcastically: 'That's very good.' Alice to herself (blushing): 'Well, that's all I could think of.'"

Another teacher, a man, used to like to complicate issues and confuse kids. "Teacher: 'The Nile flows North, uphill?' The class looks confused. Teacher confuses pupils because, he says, to him 'down' in 'flows down' equals South. Some say the Nile flows North; no, South; no North... Five minutes are spent on this matter which could have been easily solved by reference to the little map in the kids' reader. The kids in this class seem discouraged, afraid to venture any answers."

We have talked to several sixth-graders in the course of our field work. They love to exercise their imagination and stories about man, ancient and modern, thrill them. Yet, imagination and creativity are discouraged in some classrooms, especially if the topic has to do with unfamiliar places and history. In spite of the publishers' manuals and guides for teachers which might make lesson preparation and class discussion easier or more meaningful, some teachers seem to love to explain away things rather than explain them and to give children the idea that knowledge is not important, that "anything goes". "Teacher: 'What's an archeologist?' Kid: 'Someone who digs things up.' Teacher: 'Is he a grave-robber, then?' Kid is puzzled and confounded. The archeologist is a grave-robber, and that's that. This teacher's contempt for knowledge is fantastic." With reference to the above-mentioned book by Eibling et al., we can cite countless examples of the institutionalization of contempt for knowledge and of anti-intellectualism, examples with reference to the Romans ("they had no TV sets" -- poor folks, with a low standard of living!), Charlmagne, England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. ("Italians eat spaghetti and olives" is accepted by the teacher as a summary of centuries of Italian history; it conveniently by-passes the tons of spaghetti Americans eat more than Italians, and keeps both Italians and Italian-Americans in their place. That "it took one Italian to discover the country and another one to name it -- and don't you ever forget that," as Italian Americans say, is conveniently ignored. In addition, on Columbus Day, Columbus is painted by a number of sixth-graders as a blue-eyed, fair-skinned man; for all practical purposes he seems to be regarded as having come on the Mayflower!) We have also observed instances of subtle, and not-so-subtle, prejudice against some children, e.g., in the way a teacher asks a military dependent or a local pupil to spell for him his Spanish or Italian-sounding surname; and in the process, humiliates the child.

We have seen examples of good teaching, warm-heartedness, and cultivation of knowledge and sensibility, but these are considerably fewer than the instances of ignorance that we have witnessed. Obviously, a teacher teaches by example rather precept; many children are systematically discouraged from cultivation of knowledge, imagination, and a humanistic outlook. The point at issue is institutionalized ignorance in public schools, ignorance with regard to American and non-American history, America and other countries. We will phrase our comment bluntly: Since the Second World War, America has taken the place of England and France as a great power on a world-wide basis; it can no longer afford to have a preponderance of uneducated educators.

B. Teachers' Attitudes to Mobile Children

We had a number of conversations with superintendents and principals concerning military dependents. Some superintendents remarked that some military dependents had emotional problems because their fathers were on prolonged duty overseas, that in some cases absentee fathers compounded the motivation and school adjustment problems of their children, especially in the initial transition to a new school. Cases of children who did not seem to be affected by the absence of their fathers were also mentioned. A few cases of children's re-adjustment to their returning fathers were also mentioned. Superintendents stressed the need for special guidance services for the mobile child, but deplored the fact that they did not have enough school counselors even for the local children. Since we had set ourselves the task of studying what happened to children, both mobile and local, under school auspices rather than the effect of home conditions on school performance, we did not gather data on this problem.

The scanty literature available on this subject seems to single out the mother as a key factor in the child's adjustment -- her attitude to geographic mobility and commitment to a military community, rather than the father's absence, are crucial in the child's adjustment.[50]

School principals with whom we talked felt that military dependents experienced maladjustment only in the initial phase of coming to a new school, but that in a few months they were well-adjusted to their new surroundings. Both superintendents and principals praised military personnel for the active interest they usually took in the education of their children. Some school administrators stressed that military parents were much more cooperative than civilian ones, that they gave teachers less trouble or interference, and that they disciplined their children much better than local parents.

Since, among school personnel, teachers are the ones who are in direct daily contact with children, it is their attitudes that concern us more. On the whole, teachers' attitudes towards military dependents as mobile children were mostly favorable. "(The mobile kids) are tough little animals. Moving around doesn't affect them that much... Moving is not such an important event for them." "They (mobile kids) have moved around for such a long time that they have to be in so many different situations that they have to be able to adapt quickly... One mechanism of adjustment to mobility is withdrawal... Most of them are good students."

Some teachers, especially those who teach classes composed predominantly of military dependents, adapt their teaching to their clients. They sometimes use a military vocabulary or military ranks to explain things to their pupils. Other teachers rarely do that: "Mrs. M asked how many belonged to the military and all but 7 raised their hands. She asked one of the pupils for the answer (to a question in social studies) and he does not answer, and the teacher says, "You sure don't belong on the base." This is quite surprising from Mrs. M considering that she rather rarely makes any reference to the military or the local status of the children." "Mr. P then calls out the next problem (in arithmetic) and begins to explain it, but stops and says, 'Oh you kids who have been in a different system probably won't understand how to do this. You probably didn't have any multiplication of decimals. But if you were in...(name of school district) Schools throughout, you would have had this last year.' Later on, during an explanation of another math problem, he repeats the above...The teacher seems to regard the movement of mobile children into and out of the classroom during the year as a major disruption to classroom routine. He has to repeat his math explanations." "I mentioned to Mr. F (teacher) that I had seen Chris leave the class today and wondered how long ago did he find out that Chris was leaving. He replied that he knew two weeks ago. He said that kids move around so much that it really doesn't mean much to them and that these kids don't form close relationships...He said that he thought it was easier for a person to move if that person had brothers and sisters, because then they had some kids to play with... Chris was an only child." "Catherine (a girl who had been to this school once before) is asked a question by the teacher and apparently answers it correctly (she spoke in a very soft voice). Teacher: 'I'm going to put a sign around you and make you wear it next time you are moving. You are a good student and I hate to lose you! Apparently Catherine is moving sometime this week."

Some teachers believe that mobile children have no time to play. "...She then continued to discuss children saying that most of these kids when they get home didn't go out and play. They had to clean house and wash the floors. She made a reference to Larry whom I had noticed before. His job was to take care of the sink (the classroom sink). I noticed that after he had cleaned the sink he had refused to let anybody use it. She cited this example saying that this is the way the kids are trained at home. They have to take care of their own things. She also said that these kids when they go home, 'they have to take care of their brothers and sisters. They don't have time to play.' She then began to talk about the kids' fathers, because the other day she gave the kids homework and 'the fathers couldn't understand it'. I didn't understand what she had said and I asked her to clarify it. She said that the fathers didn't understand what the kids were to do. 'Their ideas are too stereotyped. They are too rigid. That's the way they are brought up' -- referring to both the kids and their fathers." Compare this teacher's view that military dependents do not have enough time to play with the view of a teacher who taught military dependents in Dependents Schools in Europe: "Another aspect which has an effect upon the learner in the overseas Army community is that there is extremely limited opportunity for him to be required to share in the typical family chores and responsibilities that would fall to him under normal circumstances. The military community lives in public-type housing which is maintained by employees of the Army and, in a great many cases, there is a full or part-time maid to help the wife with her tasks. Even when a youngster seeks to supplement his income through performing various chores, he finds a great lack of opportunity as papers are delivered, lawns are cut, and cars are washed by local citizens for a price which is not attractive enough to most Americans. Many wise parents overcome this by giving their child responsibilities even when they can be performed more inexpensively and efficiently by local citizens, but still this factor serves to limit the developmental activities of youth overseas."[51]

We can summarize the teachers' views and attitudes towards mobile pupils -- whether newcomers, sojourners, or leavers -- as follows:

1. (a) Hesitancy of the newcomer. "For the first days, they're very aloof, they come into the class slowly, in other words, into a social group slowly. It is very evident especially at recess. The first few

days they'll just wander around by themselves" (male teacher). "Newcomers stay by themselves at first, then usually connect with one person that will sort of lead them into a group. They stay in the group until they have a little bit of difference with someone in that group. Then they may move on to another group" (female teacher).

(b) Difference between boys and girls in adjustment. "I think it's easier for the boy newcomer to make social adjustment because boys play team games and a boy doesn't have to be an individual, just part of a side." (female teacher).

(c) Socialization in the ladies lounge. "Mary C (newcomer) made friends similar to the way Barbara M (another newcomer) did it. They wandered around on the playground the first day -- seemed like they were looking, or waiting for someone to invite them to play. Next thing you know they have a friend they want to be next to in the lavatory line... Yes, I encourage friendship formation of newcomers by allowing newcomer and new acquaintance to go to the lavatory together so they can talk" (female teacher).

(d) Sponsorship of newcomer by classmates and teacher. "How newcomers make friends? I think the initiative is mostly on the part of those already in the classroom. They welcome newcomers. Otherwise newcomers will make little effort to do anything" (male teacher).

"Yvonne K (Mil. Dep. girl in class) has a maternal attitude of wanting to show the newcomer around... Sometimes the newcomer moves in and out of groups, finding fault with their activities. I feel it's a bid for recognition, and the kids try to give it to him... I give special attention to the newcomer in academics, to find out how he fits into what the class is doing, and what help if any he needs. The kids volunteer to help newcomers with incidentals. Among girls, especially Yvonne, Sherry, and Laura (all Mil. Dep. girls); among boys, Greg and Sammy (local boys). Boys don't seem to be as helpful as girls as far as those things go" (female teacher).

"I had only one bad experience this year with a newcomer who had a chip on her shoulder. She expected to be rejected, and did a very competent job in resisting everybody first" (female teacher).

"I introduce the newcomer to the class. I think the class is very interested when a newcomer arrives -- to find out where he's from... The oldtimer (local pupil) may wait 2 days until he sizes up the newcomer and then may approach him... The oldtimers are interested in finding out what foreign countries or states a military child has been to, or how he likes army life.... Maybe 80% of local kids would be inquisitive about the newcomer, but to the others he's just another mark in the teacher's register... If the military newcomer is assigned to a science group, it doesn't take long at all before things go along very smoothly... The length of time it takes for a newcomer to adjust varies. One girl did it in 2 weeks -- she has friends. With one girl, an introvert, you can't tell if she's at ease because she's very reserved, but she seems to be happy, unbothered... It didn't take Thomas R. long to adjust. He's bright; began to participate in class right away -- kids could tell he was smart. A namby-pamby boy newcomer would have difficulty making friends. But any normal child of average intelligence who isn't a snob because his father is an officer would get along O.K." (male teacher).

"How long it takes for a newcomer to become accustomed to an unfamiliar classroom -- it depends on the school and the type of student, of course, and how the teacher goes about it, too, a little bit, I think. With me it would take about 2 weeks. They don't get to know anybody very well in that time, but they do begin to feel at ease and they are getting acquainted and they seem to talk more freely in that time... I introduce the newcomer to the class, and ask for some student to help with practical things, and for a good student to help review study areas... A student isn't the real answer, but having the students help him with his work really helps me a good deal -- 'cause they will show them some of the modern math... And they'll ask another peer-group person a question a lot more freely than they would a teacher when they are new... I wouldn't assign a boy to help a girl, generally. I'd assign a boy to help get the desk ready... I wouldn't assign a boy to help a girl because at this age they are becoming interested in girls... There is this feeling among the boys that it's something unpleasant, that they'd rather avoid!" (male teacher).

"Newcomers might have a problem with math if they weren't there at the beginning of the year... I'd have to go back to find out how much he knew so he could catch up with us, and this causes a problem... I think the terminology of the new math is what causes problems. It's a new vocabulary. But actually it's the same as traditional math" (male teacher).

2. (a) Academic assessment of the newcomer. "I ask them to bring in their report card. If they keep forgetting it, you know it isn't a good report... Newcomers are tested for reading grade-level and put in the appropriate group after a week. With math, you assess performance... You keep them after school for special help... I am having trouble only with two, Bill and Alan, who came in at the end of the year" (female teacher). "I just have the registration sheet with the student's name when the newcomer first comes to class. It takes about 2-3 weeks before he is tested and put in the proper reading group" (female teacher). "I was worried that in 2 cases my evaluation of a student was not in

line with what the student was doing in previous schools... I thought I was too easy with one student who was getting better grades than before. But then I found out her IQ was 120 and she has a speech problem and just didn't participate at the last school" (male teacher).

(b) Academic performance of mobile pupils. "I don't find a great difference between mobiles and locals in academic achievement. Both groups seem to span the wide range between high and low achievement... Some mobiles are deficient in skills, can't take the change; others have benefited from being in other places... In social studies, mobiles may not have factual information, but some idea of what the teacher is talking about. However, mobiles in my room do not seem to do better gradewise in geography, even though they've been to an area -- it could be I am testing them on something they wouldn't know" (female teacher). "As a mother of mobile children myself, I don't think there are any more problems in the education of mobile children. The kids could have a poor year, perhaps based on a poor teacher, anywhere. As a teacher, I see that mobile kids have problems filling 'holes' -- preliminaries -- in their academic background. My own daughter had trouble with math in high school, due to poor background, and the teacher didn't have time to review in class -- so she gets help from friends or the teacher after school... The problem with the education of mobile kids is disparity in the quality of schools. If they come with very good preparation to a slower school, they are bored, and might not have to work at all. If they come from a slower school, they have 'holes' -- gaps... I think that more personal interviews with the parents of mobile children, more than 2 per year, would help teachers do more for mobile children" (female teacher).

"Some mobile kids have taken advantage of their travels, while others were too young to do so. Some mobiles contribute to geography and history lessons, while others didn't see historical places while they were there... Being a newcomer entails a difficult period of adjustment for both teacher and student. The problem in the education of mobile kids is not knowing fully what their background is -- I can't go just by marks... The biggest problem is the time it takes to figure the child out. As soon as you do he leaves" (female teacher).

"I can't really pay much attention to the marks when I get them. I mostly just wait and see how they write sentences, paragraphs, or do their assignments, and how they speak, and things like that. In watching them, you pick out that they can't write or read -- after a while you see all these things, but it does take time, since you can't rely on any previous marks or records of the child, just familiarity, so a great deal of time would be lost for a child who moves around very much... I found that it was hard (teaching mobile children) because they'd all come from different schools and some had missed skills that the others had, and so all this jumble of people -- children at so many different levels anyway, but to have something that definitely had a reason for it -- such as missing out on learning something -- so there was this huge jumble and I really couldn't figure out any general level on which to teach. I had to review a lot and teach a lot, and I'd be shocked sometimes when someone wouldn't know how to do something simple, because they'd missed it. So that causes problems. Also I forget the new child -- we've gone along in our nice little system and everybody knows how to do this and that -- then the new person comes in, and I forget the new child doesn't know how to do this... And I -- I think they miss out -- it's mainly the skills, the 'how to do' things they miss out on when they move. Concepts they seem to be able to pick up and catch onto all right, pick up here and there, or they at least get the basic ideas and so forth" (female teacher).

"I think military kids do not seem to retain, whether they have never been drilled properly, or just haven't had it. They move so much -- it's really not their fault -- but they have the attitude that 'I have to do this while I'm being watched' .... This group (class) has not learned by travelling, for if you ask them, they don't even know where they've been. I think these children are educationally deprived. You have to spend so much time explaining the simplest things... But my regular class is in the low reading group, compared with all the other teachers" (female teacher in charge of a low-ability group & suffering from "role distance").

(c) Attitude of teachers to pupils' mobility. "It takes a while for them to get adjusted to your system, of course, because it's different... The child that is constantly moving is affected more in the lower grades rather than in the sixth-grade... Possibly in a couple of cases I can see that had the child stayed in this system for a long time when he was in second grade, he would have done better.... I would not object to my children moving except in the first three grades. I think that the first three grades are very important... I wouldn't want to have to move every year because I think that the children make friends and in some cases it's pretty hard to leave them" (female teacher).

"Alan (Mil. Dep. boy who came at end of year) seems to have just given up. Perhaps this is the heart of this mobility idea... He's in the top reading group but he can't spell... He doesn't spell and as far as math, if you stand over him and push him step by step he'll do it till you stop -- he seems to be lazy" (male teacher). "I very much dislike the mobility of students. When I get a new kid, I can only go on records and marks, but that doesn't tell me about the entire child. Getting used to each other is difficult for both student and teacher" (male teacher). "It took Richard quite a while to adjust to class. At first he wouldn't even talk in the class, and now he's gotten to the point where he's part of the classroom and he can get up and give answers, and he does his work now. At first, he probably said, 'The heck with it, they keep moving around on me' or something. He wasn't mature enough to take the change. And the change did take place during the school year. Luckily he came in the beginning of the year, not at the end of the year like some of the other kids" (female teacher).

3. (a) The out-migrant. "Nothing unusual happens. We've had so many new ones and people leaving that it's just they're going to leave and everybody's used to it" (male teacher).

"I ask if anyone is leaving, from time to time, because students have a tendency not to say anything until the day they're leaving, or a day or two before. The kids themselves might only know a week ahead of time. That's amazing the way they just pull those kids around... When Joe D was leaving..., he seemed to be downhearted going. Billy C -- his father was retiring and he was going back to where they lived originally and he seemed to be quite happy about going back. Mike Murphy -- he was happy to leave becuase he wasn't doing well. Jimmy W was only here a little better than 3 weeks. You couldn't faze him if you wanted to. He was leaving and I said, 'Well, we're sorry to see you go', and he just looked at me like 'Well, I'm going and I'll probably go to another one (school) before long'... Sherry D's girl-friend left the day before yesterday. She was all shook up about it. She said, 'What do you do when your best friend leaves and you don't have anyone? You know, the friend you used to talk to and stuff?' I told her another one would come along... Sherry's father retired and they're going to Connecticut, leaving at the end of May. She's very upset, she wants to know if I can promote her. I could promote her right now. She picks up things in a minute" (male teacher).

"Some like moving because they don't like the system here, and some dislike it because they leave friends behind" (female teacher).

"I asked Mrs. W if any kids were upset because John L (a popular classmate) was leaving. She was surprised that I had even thought that some kids would be upset at one of the kids leaving. She said that this was just a matter of routine departure of one of the students and there was no emotion showed on the part of any of the kids. She did add, however, that John's girlfriend, whom she did not know, had given John a set of cuff-links as a going-away gift" (observer).

(b) Keeping in touch with the child who had left. Some teachers have mentioned that they usually write to kids who have left and quite often hear from them. In most cases, pupils stop writing to their former sixth-grade teachers after they get settled, but keep writing to a close friend in class. Most teachers suspect that mobile pupils stop writing to their classmates a few months after they leave.

In this section we have dealt with teachers' attitudes towards mobile pupils, both on the basis of school observation and interviews with teachers. Obviously, teachers' attitudes embody a definition of the client. Quite often this definition is influenced by the IQ score teachers glimpse in the newcomer's records, for teachers tend to regard IQ as magic, a short-hand to predicting academic and social acceptability.

Obviously, the definer's attitude influences the behavior of the defined, as Robert Rosenthal has shown in a series of laboratory as well as school experiments. He selected two groups of laboratory rats randomly, telling one set of laboratory assistants that one group was "maze bright" bred especially for optimum psychological performance; the other set, that the other group was "maze dull". Surely enough, that was a self-fulfilling prophecy for the experimenters, for they confirmed his "maze bright" and "maze dull" labels! He also randomly selected a group of children in California, telling their teachers that the children had a great unrecognized potential as judged by their performance on the "late-bloomingness test". The teachers saw these children in a new light and treated them accordingly. By the end of the year, the achievement scores of all of those children had jumped several points![52] We live in a symbolic world in which the labellers quite often determine the very behavior of the labelled. If children, whether local or military dependents, are labelled by their teachers as "maze bright" or "maze dull" ("maze" being the educational one), then they would tend to make the label a self-fulfilling prophecy. As George Herbert Mead has said, persons perceive and define themselves as they believe others perceive and define them.[53] If, for example, military dependents are defined by their teachers as excelling in social studies, then they would tend to measure up to this definition. The definition supplies both social and psychological reinforcement. After all, people are situations they are put into; their behavior is a resultant of reciprocal roles and inter-dependent labels. Any remedial or enrichment program in schools would have to take the labelling process into consideration. How the newcomer is labelled by his teachers determines his school adjustment.

C. The Stranger in the Public Schools

In the course of our field-work in schools, we observed the behavior of many newcomers both in the classroom and on the playground. The initial phase of newcomership is the one during which the pupil is considered by his classmates and teacher, and considers himself, an outsider to the classroom group. This phase, which lasts for a week or so, is one during which the pupil formulates preliminary "maps" of the new social and physical landscape primarily by watching both his classmates and teacher. The newcomer is unsure of his grounds; the social "map" he develops is flexible enough to allow for inconsistencies with past experiences of a similar nature, but definite enough to provide him with new information to let him make some sense of his new environment. At this stage, the newcomer's quest is for predictability. He is quiet and somewhat withdrawn, watching more than participating, playing things by ear.

The next phase is one in which the newcomer has a fair idea of the social reality around him. He is learning what to expect from the teacher and from his classmates, figuring out the formal and informal structure of the classroom and playground, "who is who" among his classmates, his potential friends and enemies, how rules are observed or broken; he is also making errors and learning from them as well as from errors made by others. Generally, this phase lasts for a month. Our data point out the importance of classmates of the same sex who sit near the newcomer and act as integrators. The sixth-graders' society is divided along sex lines; boys associate with boys, girls with girls, primarily. Classmates who sit next to the newcomer automatically seem to assume a loose role of providers of information and of potential friends. At this stage, the newcomer develops a close friendship with at least one classmate and close acquaintance with several others. At the end of the first month, the newcomer still exhibits behavior which indicates his continuing reliance upon others for clues to acceptable behavior in classroom and on playground; for membership in, or avoidance of, cliques;

and for a generally more refined and specific information about the school.

The third stage, starting with the second month of the newcomer's advent, is the one during which he is allowed to become himself -- he is treated more as a person than a newcomer; he is no longer defined essentially as the "new kid". His status both in the classroom and on the playground changes as he becomes more of a participant in groups; he is referred to by name rather than merely labelled the "new kid"; he is accepted by his classmates or at least has a definite role in their classroom or playground society.

Initially the newcomer is sized up by both teacher and pupils. All eyes are on him as he enters the classroom. The "wheels" are turning in both the teacher's and the pupils' heads to figure out whether he is smart or dumb, what kind of a person he is. Sometimes he is "hazed" on the playground. Boys might snatch his cap and toss it from one classmate to another; this also happens when pupils are lining up to get their lunch trays in the cafeteria. All are intensely interested in the newcomer's reactions -- whether he is a good sport or a cry-baby, a potential associate to be incorporated into their groups or one to be avoided. It is a mechanism for role assignment -- more accurately, role provacation! As the newcomer and his associates are sometimes punished by the teacher, group solidarity develops and the newcomer's integration is speeded up. "They just take your hat and run off with it, but they always give it back. If you get mad and tell the teacher, they won't like you... Me and John McCormick and Larry Smith, and Tom Collins were down, ah, just taking little snowballs and throwing them at each other and a couple of other kids. Mrs. C walks by, tells us to go to Mr. H, go to Mr. H (the principal). We have to set the table for the cafeteria for the PTA, scrub the floors, do the auditorium floor and oh, jeepers, he just made you do all these things just for throwing a snowball at each other; we weren't hurting anybody... 'Cause we went to the principal and had to do all these things, we became real good friends" (conversation with a newcomer who came in the middle of the year, two weeks after arrival).

Sometimes, hazing and teasing the newcomer is painful to the person, though enjoyable to others. "Scott Bernard -- it always makes him mad because he has a name that can be turned into Barnyard. Even the gym teacher called him that for a while when he first came, and when a teacher starts calling you a name, it rides you pretty hard" (local boy about newcomer). "(Can you tell me more, you know about how it was when you first came here?) They started calling me names: 'Barnyard, you stink; you smell up the whole place'. I just ignored them. I don't care what they call me... Then they started to take my hat, take my ball and throw it away, they start playing keep away... I was mad, I had to fight. I didn't want to get in trouble, but that was the only way I could stop 'em... It's just a few kids who nicknamed me

'Barnyard' .... Yeah, John Baxter, he's a good friend of mine.... a big boy, and he doesn't like it either... (He protects Bernard from other kids)." The same newcomer (Bernard) was mad at the new school. Ironically, it is not unusual for the minority to internalize the criteria and even vocabulary of the majority: "This school? It's rotten; it's all messed up with a bunch of junk -- looks like a barnyard -- and I say, no good". "Sometimes when they take my hat and put snow in it, we get into a real fight. Then one time they shoved snow down my neck. I just got mad... He (local classmate) kicked me. I just got mad and hit him back" (another newcomer). Girls, considered an out-group by most sixth-grade boys, are sometimes nicknamed by them: "She's only been in school a week or, I don't know, a week and a half, I guess. She just sits next to me and everybody calls her "Susie Spastic". You know Carl sits right next to her and he's just the person to go around calling kids 'Susie Spastic' and everything... And she has stuff, I don't know, she has some pretty good stuff (comic books) that we borrow. And she's sitting there, 'No, my name isn't Susie; my name is Diane!' Carl was calling her Susie and everything, and that was a little funny. She's a lot of fun" (informal interview with a local boy). We would like to add that often the victimized or cruelly nicknamed newcomer goes through a culture shock of withdrawal or aggression, and that he gropes for justification of his self-worth to himself and others. "I am in the accelerated group" is an example of assertion of academic status over others, part of the pain of adjustment.

Obviously, participation is the key to adjustment. "John and Keith (a mobile and a local pupil) are sitting together, hand wrestling and generally fooling around and making a lot of noise. I sense a very strong change in John's behavior after a month in school. He seems much surer of himself, at home in the classroom, fooling around and taking liberties with the other students, pushing kids around and being pushed around" (observer).

The newcomer quickly identifies cliques -- the in-groups and out-groups. "Well, there is the 'in' crowd and the 'out' crowd. There's a few boys who hang around, and they do these sorts of things, and sort of a whole gang" (newcomer, third week after arrival). For boys, the out-group consists of girls, and of boys who are withdrawn or are labelled "brains". "The 'out' crowd is usually the boys who stand around, and sit around, and do nothing but smoke, or something, over in the corner... Boys who are fat and can't run around as fast... Well, there's always the brains that don't fight... Like Larry -- he goes to special classes with Miss N in the yellow building all by himself; and Robert, he goes over to the high school for chemistry and he's a great mathematician and all that, but he doesn't like to do anything. I mean, he doesn't like to play baseball, he doesn't try at it; he's like Jimmy too" (newcomer, end of first month). In addition to girls as an out-group and "brains" as an out-group, the newcomer, especially in classes composed of military dependents and local pupils in about equal numbers (Group II classes), often singles out a third kind of out-groups for mild disapproval: what he calls a "town person" or "town people". In some cases, this sub-group is more of a non-group than an out-group, that is, the newcomer doesn't seem to have anything for it or against it. It is composed of local pupils who do not live near him, whom he does not see on the school-bus, and who seem to him during his first stages of arrival to form an impassive, distant, or self-centered clique that keeps to itself. At times, however, the "town kids" as an out-group becomes clearly apparent: "Well, local kids or town kids, they sort of when you come to school they act like big shots as if they think they know everything in the world, and then all of a sudden one of the military kids will come up and outshine them, so then they're kind of down in the dumps... The only thing that's different is that local kids -- they don't care about school as much as the people who travel because they say, 'Well, we're here and there's a school right here and we can go to school anytime we want'..." (mobile child using the academic conquest of local children as a basis for his school identity).

Among other things the newcomer learns to identify and to put into a comparative framework are teachers' styles and personalities (lots of homework, strictness, classroom management techniques, & whether teacher is nice or crabby), the dress of local children, which many of the newcomers use as a quick index of social class, the formal or informal rules of the school, and -- naturally enough -- the capacity of teacher and classmates for tolerance or intolerance of certain behaviors, their social distance, and potentiality for friendship. We covered some of these things in our discussion of the formal interviews we had with pupils. The same things appear in the informal interviews we had with them in the course of field work.

One difference appears between the formal interviews we had with mobile pupils and the informal conversations we had with them during their roles as newcomers. From observation, rather than formal interviews, we learned that newcomers, both boys and girls, were very much aware of the other sex as an out-group, that the friendships they had to establish had to be in their own sex group. Newcomers were also aware of covert friendships existing between boys and girls, friendships sustained mainly outside of school and not publicly admitted in school. These cross-sex friendships centered around going ice-skating together or to dancing classes together. Indeed, by the end of the school year we could observe that the cross-sex friendships were more publicly accepted. In one instance, this was due to a dancing class inaugurated by two phys ed teachers. Initially, most boy newcomers would never risk being publicly identified as pro-girls, although most of the girls' conversations centered on boys. In many instances, the boy newcomer would assert that he had nothing to do with girls, that he had to make it in the society of boys first and foremost. In some sixth-grade classrooms, being pro-girl was akin to what Southerners call being a "nigger lover". In addition, the teachers' practices reinforced segregation by sex at the sixth-grade level: special corners on the playground for girls to congregate or play on; assignment of an oldtimer girl to help a newcomer one and a boy to help a boy newcomer; a uni-sex group to work on a project on astronomy or social studies; and so forth. What most sixth-graders were believed to want -- sex segregation or cleavage -- was reinforced by the teachers. Boy-girl friendships had to be publicly played down or had to go underground. In several instances, we witnessed a reversal of this trend by the end of the school year.

We have two anthropological type of comments related to the aforementioned point. In some public schools, not only segregation by race and color is practiced, but also segregation by age and by sex. Quite often, the two latter types of segregation are more subtle and are practiced by the pupils themselves -- up to Junior High, for example. In some schools, there are special miniature-sized playground for each grade level: the first graders or second-graders step out of their classroom door immediately into a fenced-in little playground of their own. The reason behind this practice, as some principals put it, is to protect the younger kids from harm from older ones. But it can be argued that space and age segregation prevents younger children from learning to take care of themselves, and older children from learning to protect those younger or weaker than themselves, that is, few chances are offered children for the practice of altruism or self-assertion. Age and space segregation in American public schools recalls to the students of anthropology the "MATS" or segregated age-groups of the Baganda of East Africa. In addition, such a segregation prevents the brighter children from picking up knowledge artificially assigned to an older age group and from passing on aspects of the culture of games, ditties, rhymes, and folklore that used to delight generations of children everywhere. As Martin Loeb has remarked, segregation by age and space in public schools is a form of "culturally provided deprivation."[54] Obviously, age segregation in schools is but a reflection of age segregation in society at large -- of adolescents, young adults, and oldsters -- which may be contributive to the "generation gap" both in school and society. One is tempted to say that the one-room school house seems to have provided more inter-age unity than many of the Hilton-type school edifices currently on the scene. Perhaps generational disarticulation, being also institutionalized in the school, is forcing teen-agers and college students to take the mores in their hands.

The other comment we have is related to the anthropological concept of "taboo", which is found both in nonliterate as well as in literate societies. Taboo is a social mechanism of ritualism and of obedience to the group; it is something prohibitive and tinged with sacred appeal; it is the "don't" or negative aspect of mores; it is part of what may be termed the sociology of danger in group practices and group memberships.[55] Sixth-grade boys and girls seem to regard their folkways as superlatively good, for they regulate their social life in both the classroom and playground and their inter-sex associations. At the sixth-grade level and especially in the first part of the school year, boy-girl friendships are as strongly tabood as if they were practices of a primitive society. The newcomer to the sixth-grade is strongly aware of this taboo and cannot violate it. In this instance, as in instances in larger contexts, taboo is a mechanism for maintenance of the "pecking order", of relatedness to the group, and of personal identity.

In addition to classroom and playground observation, interviews with pupils and teachers, and informal conversations with newcomers, leavers, and with school personnel, we thought of analyzing the school cumulative records of both mobile and local pupils, especially with regard to teachers' comments. Unfortunately, the school cumulative records of mobile pupils were very spotty and in many cases hardly had any entries; similarly, the school cumulative records of local pupils had many gaps in them and only a few teachers' comments. We did a pilot study of the cumulative records of local pupils in 6 sixth-grades in various districts and discovered that the teachers' framework in judging the conduct of local pupils from the first grade through the sixth consisted, from most prevalent to least prevalent, of the following types of derogations: poor work habits, poor attitude towards school, aggressive personality traits, withdrawn personality traits, poor attendance, misconduct, referability to remedial classes, poor social adjustment, and physical disabilities. The few derogations teachers had a chance to enter on the cumulative records of mobile pupils in the same classrooms mainly centered on poor work habits. We thought that by analyzing derogations rather than commendations we would be able to uncover problem areas for solution. Regardless of the basis for analysis of school cumulative record data or the choice of one kind of data over another, one essential recommendation emerges: the need for adequate and more consistent school records for pupils, especially mobile pupils. Such records would help schoolmen in their work and may contribute to a more rapid accommodation of pupils as they move from school to school.

CHAPTER VIII
RECOMMENDATIONS

As researchers, we have a mandate to study schools, not change them. It is the people who are in charge of schools that have a mandate to change them. We, nevertheless, offer these tentative recommendations in the hope that they may be of some use to schoolmen in the performance of their work. Obviously, implementation of any recommendations depends on (a) the nature of the recommendations and their degree of plausibility, (b) the circumstances in which those to whom they are addressed find themselves -- financial as well as political circumstances, and (c) the way practitioners tend to interpret or understand what is recommended. Our recommendations are primarily addressed to schoolmen at the local level, secondarily to educational bureaucrats at the state or federal level, and thirdly to sociologists and anthropologists interested in schooling and schools.

No change, it seems to us, can be instituted in any public schools unless the school system is "hit" at various levels. This means that the nature of change, of any new program proposed, has to be accepted not only by the superintendent and his central office personnel, but also by principals, counselors, and teachers -- not to mention school secretaries who are in key positions to influence visitors to the school nor janitors who may resent a new arrangement of desks or chairs in classrooms or conference rooms. The point is that a school system is not only a rigid bureaucracy engaged in warding off parental and other outside intrusions, but also internally a group of competitive sub-groups that are in delicate balance. What may appeal to teachers may antagonize counselors; what may appeal to principals may be resisted by teachers. When the chips are down, change essentially means a redefinition of inter-personal relations -- more power to some, less to others; anxiety, threatenability, or elation. Hence, what sociologists call the "role-set" of the person, those around him who influence the performance of his work, must be convinced of the worth or desire for change. Otherwise, teachers who usually do not like their principals or central-office supervisors may use any action program personnel as a buffer between them and those they do not like. The same can be said of principals and other educational foremen.[1]

As every alert educational administrator knows, any action program needs an advisory committee composed of prestigious elements in both the school system and the community. Such a "curriculum council", as rooky school superintendents at the Administative Career Program at Harvard University call it, is essential for the school administrator in his role as a broker of power and mediator and accommodator of diverse groups.

Quite often, educators pay lip serve to the child as the reason for the school and say that he has needs to be met, forgetting about the needs of teachers and those of administrators. If, in the final analysis, the purpose of any school action-program is the welfare of the child, then in the non-final analysis we can say that to influence the child for the better or mitigate his circumstances, one has to influence the teachers and give them more autonomy. An action program cannot be aimed directly at the child, the teacher has to be the principal agent for change. Perhaps a practice from what is called "higher education" can be adapted to "lower education": establishment of faculty committees to approve curricular changes without constant interference from the principal in his secondary role of academic dean (called "instructional leader" in educational literature).

Now that we have speculated about the nature of change as it pertains to an institution we call the school, we would like to offer some suggestions pertaining to curriculum matters, guidance services, and the on-the-job training of teachers. We will concentrate more on teacher training than on the two other areas.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CURRICULUM CHANGE

A public school teacher does a lot of what is known occupationally as "dirty work" -- grubby, routine, and boring work. She is called upon not only to be an instructor but also a clerk, a playground, study-hall, and lunchroom supervisor, a cop, a psychologist, a confidante, and a mother confessor. In the teacher's work, the core and peripheral activities are hopelessly intertwined. Besides, when school systems hire a teacher they usually make sure that she has no recognizable specialty; she cannot insist on teaching junior high when the system needs her for the elementary grades or sees fit to shift her around from level to level. In addition, since educational literature enjoins the principal to spend most of his time in "supervision of instruction", this means that no post-probationary teacher is considered "professional" enough even among her own people, the educators! These factors, obviously, erode whatever occupational standing the teacher has or likes to have. As David Riesman has remarked, school teachers have a quest for omnicompetence, based on their idealistic training in schools of education, on the administrative demands of shcool systems, and on the teacher's segmented role.[2] The point is that if teachers are to be called upon to "upgrade" (a word beloved by schoolmen) the curriculum, they need to have a more definite role, more autonomy, and a clear-cut core of occupational activities. If teachers are treated as equals, then they would respond as equals. Otherwise, they would constantly engage, as they most often do, in "status politics" -- a quest for deference based on written testimonials from children, parents, and central-office personnel. When teachers are driven to routinize their manifold duties, then it is meaningless of school administrators to say that teachers do not like "innovation". In a word, what we are saying is that to change the curriculum, inter-status relations in the school need to be changed.

Although teacher training institutions seem to train beginning elementary school teachers to regard themselves as special ambassadors or psychological emissaries from the world of adults to the world of kids and to consider themselves essentially as "consultants" to children, what quite often happens is that some teachers develop a contempt for knowledge and an anti-intellectual attitude that they communicate in the classroom. Some writers have termed such teachers "uneducated educators". Training future teachers along M.A.T. program lines may help to alleviate such problem. In the school, there are not only "problem children" but also occupationally problematic teachers. Since scientism is the central myth of society at large, it is no wonder that uneducated, as well as educated, educators rely on the IQ score as a form of magic to place a child in a given ability group and thus determine his future career. What we are indirectly suggesting is that perhaps in the future, some specifically allocated Foundation and Federal funds could be employed to improve the collegiate teacher-training industry.

Some writers such as Henry and Klineberg, as mentioned in the previous chapter, have written about the stupidity of children's readers. Whereas some educators have flung the label "culturally deprived" on children they could not teach, it seems to us that children's readers clearly show the cultural deprivation of schoolmen who wrote them. Among other things, we would like to suggest that if "cultural pluralism" is to be more than a pious assertion, then the treatment of America's ethnic groups at least in school books needs to be more humane and self-respectful rather than caricatures and slanders. Not only teachers but teachers of teachers seem to be culturally deprived when it comes not only to knowing about other societies and cultures but also about their own society and culture. This suggestion for rewriting children's textbooks is consonant with the position of America as a world power, for after all, charity begins at home and so does democracy.

(For specific suggestions on the improvement of school cumulative records and other matters, rather than only textbooks, see

Chapter I under Fitzpatrick in the section on the review of related literature.)

GUIDANCE SERVICES

As is well-known, although schools -- like people -- may all have been born equal, some of them are more equal than others. In the educational hierarchy, high schools are more important than elementary schools; hence they -- for several reasons -- get more guidance services. What we are emphasizing is the need for more adequate guidance programs in the elementary school (several of the schools we observed had only a part-time guidance counselor who had a heavy load of cases spread over three or four schools in the district).

Why more guidance services? In a highly industrial society, as is well-known, there are more problems of dislocation, more "generation gaps", more "credibility gaps", and more adjustments, maladjustments, and re-adjustments; hence, the rise of a secular priesthood -- psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and social workers -- of which the school counselor is a junior member. School counselors, as part of the "professional altruists" in a complex Gesellschaft, a highly bureacratized and highly impersonal entity, guide clients, open choices before them, and help them bridge discontinuities in their lives. The fear, culture, shock, and hesitancy of the mobile pupil in his role as a newcomer may be alleviated by counseling and guidance. The same may be true of the local pupil in his adaptation to school rules, peers, and teachers.

School counselors are members of an "emergent profession", that is, an occupation bent on raising the monetary rewards and status of its members. Some of them are ill-trained; some at times act as overjealous "cultural cops" who try to catch "kids with problems" and who love to "play doctor".[4] Whatever training programs may help teachers and other school personnel develop compassion, honesty, and tolerance in their work as school wardens may be equally helpful to school counselors.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING PROGRAM FOR TEACHERS

This project has been centered on the schooling careers of mobile children, that is, on the stranger in public schools. What we would like to sketch out in the way of a training program for teachers applies essentially to teachers of mobile pupils rather than to teachers of local ones and to in-service rather than pre-service training of teachers.

In its nostalgia for the small town and its Sunday-School virtues, educational literature tends to be rural and suburban rather than cosmopolitan and urban. It ignores the problem of mobility and treats the pupil as if he were to spend the rest of his life in the same locality and school. It also deals with the prospective teacher as if she were going to teach third-generation local pupils all her life. Hence, what we have to suggest as content and as a framework for teacher-training is related to our findings and, since it is not derived from educational writings, may not be familiar -- and hence, may not be acceptable -- to teachers of teachers. What we are suggesting is an experimental training program anchored in sociology and anthropology, not in educational psychology.

It seems to us that teachers of geographically mobile children need to have more empathy, cultural versatility, and sensitivity than teachers of local children. We can summarize these traits under the term "anthropological outlook". What is meant by an anthropological outlook is the capacity of the person to take the role of the other, to "put himself in the other's shoes", to think of the other as human and thus as no stranger to him. It is the "I and thou" social bond, the bond that makes one's self-worth the self-worth of others, and vice-versa. An anthropological outlook means the capacity for conceptualizing hidden similarities between people and between institutions, a seeing of the person as a reflection of oneself, and oneself as a reflection of others, be they considered an in-group, an out-group, or even a non-group. It is essentially the quality of the perceptive stranger, as discussed by Simmel, Schutz, Park, Hughes, and Colin Wilson. In a highly mobile society, everyone becomes a stranger at one stage of his life or another. Some, indeed, are native strangers such as not only mobile school children but also such perpetual strangers as American Indians and other disadvantaged groups. The enlargement of awareness is a primary goal in such a teacher training program; an antidote to innocence, ethnocentrism, and illusion; an attempt to explore the unobvious things that lie behind the obvious.

For development of an anthropological outlook among teachers, we would like to suggest a number of readings. These are the references we have used in discussing the sociology of the stranger, and there is no need to list them again here (see Chapter VI, text and footnotes). Essentially, in this teacher training program, we would like to define the sociologist as an anthropologist of his society and persuade teachers not only to become intelligent consumers of social science writings but also anthropologist of their own stiuation and, hence, of the social situation in which their mobile pupils are caught up. To see themselves in others, and vice-versa, is a sine qua non for such understanding. In addition to writings on the stranger in sociological and anthropological literature as we have discussed them, we would like to add two other types of references: (a) accounts on the strangership experience of families and adults in suburbia and urbia (e.g., those by Herbert Gans and William Whyte), and (b) excerpts from our account on the pupil as a stranger, as discussed in the chapter on pupil interviews. These will be but an example of illustrative materials, to be modified, interpreted, and assimilated in the light of the teachers' own experience. They themselves can contribute similar materials.

There are usually two enclaves on any college campus where "sensitivity groups" and "T-groups" are religiously worshipped: the school of education and the school of business administration. This is not surprising, for the ethos of these schools is to fit people into bureaucracies. We mention this to emphasize that "sensitivity groups" is part of the culture of modern school teachers and that we do not intend to have such clinicalized groups in this training program. What we mean by sensitivity is warm-heartedness and sagacity, not Rogerian games to freeze the face in idiotic smiles of pretension and shallowness. What we mean by "taking the role of the other" is in George Herbert Mean's sense, not as clinical role-playing or psychodrama. Hence, we will have discussion groups for teachers, not clinical groups: our emphasis is on therapy in its ancient sense, not latter-day one, that is, as skills of controversy with oneself, which can be called thinking, and of controversy with others, which can be called debate.[5] Our purpose is to encourage teachers to get in touch with the realities of their cultural function, explore issues in their human connotation, entertain contrary opinions, and as individuals, have the freedom not only to accept but also to reject whatever is read or discussed. In a word, an anthropological outlook is synonymous with what Mills has called the "sociological imagination", a quality of mind which dramatically links individual and social reality, institutions and the person.[6]

The trainers in this program would be schoolmen who know the "news" about schools and mobile children and can conceptualize their experiences, plus sociologists and anthropologists who are familiar with the school and other institutions both sociologically and anthropologically. Above all, perceptive and cultivated persons.

Admittedly, we have only sketched a program rather than presented a blueprint for action. This is deliberately so, for what we have offered is only a set of tentative suggestions that may be helpful to educators to "do their own thing" in this area, and -- to borrow another current idiom -- that's exactly "where it's at".

Our objective has been to suggest in a brief manner what could be done to make both teachers and pupils become more of themselves as persons, that is, sharpen their understanding, develop their empathy, be capable of entertaining contrary opinions, and take pride in their cultural heritage and the heritage of those with whom they work or associate. The culture of schoolmen tends to be, among other things, a culture of speaking in nuances and implications rather than in a straight-forward manner. Though addressing schoolmen, we have been as definite as we could be in such an outline of suggestions, trusting that, after all, truth -- whether educational or anthropological -- is a tension between different viewpoints and can be better grasped if treated as such. At worst or at best, our suggestions might make teacher-trainers prouder of their own views on this matter.

Nothing is claimed beyond the tentativeness of all knowledge. This has been an exploratory study to which an exploratory training program has been appended. In research as in teaching, as in all human activity, it may be useful to remember the socio-cultural poetry of T. S. Eliot:

> "We shall not cease from exploration
> And the end of all our exploring
> Will be to go back where we started
> And know the place for the first time."

FOOTNOTES TO ALL CHAPTERS

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. For a discussion of this approach, see (a) Whyte, William Foote, "Interviewing in Field Research," in Adams, R. N., and Preiss, J. J. (eds.), Human Organization Research: Field Relations and Techniques, The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Ill., 1960, pp. 352-374; (b) Geer, Blanche, "First Days in the Field," in Hammond, P. E. (ed.), Sociologists at Work, Basic Books, New York, 1964, pp. 322-344; and (c) Becker, Howard S., and Geer, Blanche, "Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Data," in Adams and Preiss (eds.), op. cit., pp. 267-289.
2. The "finishing school" aspect of public education is discussed in Spindler, G. D. (ed.), Education and Culture: Anthropological Approaches, Holt-Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1963, Chapter 8.
3. I am indebted to Dr. Solon T. Kimball for the concept of "claiming." In a discussion of lower class delinquency as partly linked with "culture shock" in the schooling experience of delinquents, Dr. Kimball advanced the hypothesis that lower class non-delinquents may have had teachers who "claimed" them and served as significant others for them -- BBK.
4. In a telephone conversation with Superintendent Fitzpatrick (now retired), he mentioned the following:
    (a) In comparison with local pupils, military dependents have a larger vocabulary and a wider social experience; they are proficient in the "social graces." Military dependents, however,

suffer from lack of continuity in their education; they are poor in basic school subjects; some school systems have an extensive remedial reading program for them.

(b) A large number of military dependents have emotional problems; they suffer from strain because their parents are frustrated by the children's lack of success in school. A large percentage of these children had had a substandard education.

5. Strauss, Anslem (ed.), The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1956, p. 212.

6. Mead, George Herbert, Mind, Self, and Society, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1934, pp. 135-178.

7. Hughes, Everett C., Men and Their Work, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1958, p. 63.

8. Becker, Howard S., Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance, The Free Press of Glencoe, the Macmillan Co., New York, 1963, p. 24.

9. Becker, Howard S.,; Geer, Blanche; Hughes, Everett C.; and Strauss, Anslem L., Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1961, pp. 33-48.

10. Goffman, Erving, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1961, pp. 173-188.

11. Nash, Dennison, "The Ethnologist as Stranger: An Essay in the Sociology of Knowledge," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 19, No. 2, Summer, 1963, p. 150.

12. Ibid., p. 153. For a thorough discussion of the concept of "anomie," see Merton, Robert K., Social Theory and Social Structure, The Free Press of Glencoe, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1962, chapter 5.

13. Nash, op. cit., pp. 153-154.
14. Gutman, Robert, "Population Mobility in the American Middle Class," in Duhl, L. J. (ed.), The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis, Basic Books, New York, 1963, p. 177.
15. (a) Wolff, Kurt (ed.), The Sociology of Georg Simmel, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1950, p. 405.
    (b) Schuetz, Alfred, "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology," in Stein, M. R., et al. (eds.), Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1960, p. 108.
16. Nash, op. cit., p. 160.
17. Henry, Jules, "American Schoolrooms: Learning the Nightmare," Columbia University Forum, Vol. 6, No. 2, Spring 1963, p. 30.
18. See: (a) Labovitz, I. M., Aid for Federally Affected Public Schools, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1963, pp. 46-47, 147-149; (b) Massachusetts Department of Education, Public Laws 185 and 874: Their Effect on the Cities and Towns of Massachusetts through April 1, 1963, pp. 1-2.
19. Kuhn, M. H. and McPartland, T. S., "An Empirical Investigation of Self-Attitudes," American Sociological Review, 19:68-78, July 1954.
20. See, for example, (a) Junker, Buford H., Field Work, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960, pp. 12-13; (b) Henry, Jules, "Attitude Organization in Elementary School Classrooms," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 27:117-133, January 1957; (c) Henry, Jules, "The Problem of Spontaneity, Initiative, and Creativity in Suburban Classrooms," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 29:266-297, April 1959; (d) Henry, Jules, "A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education, Current Anthro-

pology, 1:267-305, July 1960; (e) Khleif, B. B., "A Socio-Cultural Framework for Training Teachers in a School Mental Health Program," School Review, 73:102-113, Summer 1965.

CHAPTER II

1. Wolff, K. H. (ed.), The Sociology of Georg Simmel, Free Press Paperbacks, Collier-Macmillan, New York, 1964, pp. 402-408.
2. Van Gennep, A., The Rites of Passage, Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960, p. 192. See also Gluckman, M. (ed.), Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations, University of Manchester Press, Manchester, England, & Humanities Press, New York, 1962, pp. 35-36.

CHAPTER III

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

1. On achievement as the most important basis for status among pupils, especially boys, see: (a) Parsons, Talcott, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society," Harvard Educational Review, 29:297-318, Fall 1959; (b) Bonney, M. E., "The Relative Stability of Social, Intellectual and Academic Status in Grades II to V and Inter-relationship between These Forms of Growth," Journal of Educational Psychology, 34:88-102, February 1943; and (c) Brown, W. H., and Bond, Lucille, "Social Stratification in a Sixth-Grade Class," Journal of Educational Research, 48:539-543, March 1955.

On the relation between poor academic achievement and a negative self-concept see, for example: (a) Hamacheck, D. E., "Characteristics of Low-Achieving, Low Self-Concept Junior High School Students and the Impact of Small Group and Individual Counseling on Self-Concept Enhancement and Achievement," College of Education, Michigan, 1964, Mimeo., 23 pp.; (b) Zaleznik, A., Dilemmas of Leadership, Harper & Row, New York, 1966, p. 188; (c) Alexander, E., "The Marking System and Poor Achievement," Teachers College Record, 36:110-113, 1964; (d) Borislow, B., "Self-Evaluation and Academic Achievement," Journal of Counseling Psychology," 9:246-254, 1962; and (e) Wellington, C. B., and Wellington, J., The Under-achievers: Challenges and Guidelines, Rand McNally, Chicago, 1965.

On the under-achievers' lack of acceptance by classmates and teachers and his low regard for himself, see: (a) Combs, C. F., "Perception of Self and Underachievement in the Academically Capable," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 43:47-51, 1964; and (b) Schwitzgebel, R., "Underachievement: A Common Fallacy," in Kornrich, M. (ed.), Underachievement C. C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1965, pp. 484-487. For an elaborate exercise in "multivariate and univariate analysis of variance" to document that, regardless of social class and sex, academically successful students have higher aspirations than unsuccessful students, see Harrison, R., "Aspirations as Related to School Performance and Socioeconomic Status," Sociometry, 32:70-79, March 1969.

2. (a) Sutton, F. X., et al., The American Business Creed, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956.
   (b) Rosen, B. C., "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psycho-Cultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, 21: 203-211, April 1956.

(c) Kahl, J. A., "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 23, No. 3, Summer 1953. Reprinted in Halsey, A. H., et al. (eds.), Education, Economy and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Education, The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-Macmillan, New York, 1964, pp. 348-366.

(d) McCleland, D. C., The Achieving Society, Van Nostrand Co., Princeton, N. J., 1961.

3. McCleland, The Achieving Society, pp. 46-50.

4. Bury, J. B., The Idea of Progress, #T-40, Dover Publications, New York, 1961.

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8. I am indebted to a number of school superintendents who directed my attention to these objectives. These objectives, as I understand it, were at one time formulated by an educational policies commission of the National Education Association; their brevity makes them readily quotable by school people.

9. Young, Michael, The Rise of Meritocracy, 1870-2033: An Essay on Education and Equality, #A-485, Pelican Books, Baltimore, 1961, pp. 57-100.

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11. Warner, W. L., et al., Who Shall Be Educated?: The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities, Harper & Row, New York, 1944, p. 49. On the work of school counselors in processing and sorting students, see the study of Cicourel, A. V., and Kitsuse, J. I., The Educational Decision-Makers, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Indiana, 1963, pp. 6, 9 and 15.

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15. Brown, The Social Psychology of Industry, p. 33.

16. See: (a) Brown, The Social Psychology of Industry, Chs. 1-2, pp. 11-68; (b) Rosen, B. C., "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psycho-cultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, 21:203-211, April 1956; and (c) Rosen, B. C., et al. (eds.), Achievement in American Society, Schenkman Books, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969, pp. 13-17 and 283-294.

17. McClelland, D. C., "Some Social Consequences of Achievement Motivation," in Jones, M. R. (ed.), Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1955, pp. 41-65.

18. Callahan, R. E., Education and the Cult of Efficiency, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962.

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It can be said that the very items of standardized achievement and intelligence tests are based on patterns of expression and social participation that are appropriate only to a middle-class style of life. On the public school as a middle-class institution, see (a) Syrkin, Marie, "Don't Flunk the Middle-Class Teacher," New York Times Magazine, December 15, 1968, pp. 32-33, *et seq*.; (b) Friedenberg, E. Z., "Sentimental Education," New York Review of Books, November 21, 1968, pp. 18-19; (c) Josephson, I., "The School as a Middle-Class Institution," Changing Education, June 1969, pp. 9-12; (d) Warner, W. L., *et al*., Who Shall Be Educated?, pp. 1-15; and (e) Himes, J. S., The Study of Sociology, Scott-Foresman & Co., Glenview, Illinois, 1968, pp. 230-231.

19. Goffman, E., Asylums, #A-277, Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, N. Y., 1961, p. xiii.

20. Malinowski, B., "Culture," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 1931, 4:626. Cited by E. C. Hughes, "Institutions," in Lee A. M. (ed.), Principles of Sociology, Barnes & Noble, New York, 1955, p. 228.

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22. Ibid., pp. 60-70.

23. Waller, Willard, The Sociology of Teaching, Russell & Russell, New York, 1961, pp. 40-47.

24. Sumner, W. G., Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals, #MT-297, Mentor Books, New American Library, New York, 1960, pp. 521-523.

25. I am indebted to the late Vincent F. Conroy, Director of the Center for Field Studies at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, for this observation.

Whereas some writers have maintained that nationally public-school teachers tend to be drawn from the lower middle-class, others have maintained that now there is an increasing number of bona fide middle-classmen among them, that is, people who have been second-generation American middle-class. On the social origins of school teachers, see, for example, (a) Warner, W. L., et al., Who Shall Be Educated?: The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities, Harper & Row, New York, 1944, pp. 98-105; (b) Riesman, D., "Teachers amid Changing Expectations," Harvard Educational Review, 24:107 & 109, Spring 1954; (c) Hofstadter, R., Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, #V-317, Vintage Books, Random House, New York, 1966, p. 311; (d) Geer, Blanche, "A Statistical Study of the Class Origin and Social Participation of Teachers," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1956; (e) Dreeben, R, "Social Stratification and Guidance," in Landy, E., and Kroll, A. M. (eds.), Guidance in American Education II: Current Issues & Suggested Action, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, p. 19; (f) Warner, W. L., et al., Social Class in America: The Evaluation of Status, #TB-1013, Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row, New York, 1960, p. 28; (g) Charters, W. W., Jr., "Social Class Analysis and the Control of Public Education," Harvard Educational Review, 23:268-283, 1953; (h) Becker, H. S., "Social Class Variations in the Teacher-Pupil Relationship," in Kallenbach, W. W., and Hodges, H. M., Jr., (eds.), Education and Society, Merrill Books, Columbus, Ohio, 1963, pp. 231-244; and (i) Warner, W. L., American Life: Dream and Reality, #P-82, Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962, pp. 210-213.

26. Gans, H. J., The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans, The Free Press, Collier-Macmillan, New York, 1962. I am indebted to Forbes O. Bryce for perceptive observations on the educational mobility of rural Yankees and other groups.

27. Pupils were randomly selected by Rosenthal, but their teachers were told that these pupils had unusually high scores on a special test of "intellectual blooming." Surprisingly enough, when these pupils were retested at the end of the year, they showed an IQ gain of 10-30 points! See Rosenthal, R., and Jacobson, L., "Teachers' Expectancies: Determinants of Pupils' IQ Gains," Psychological Reports, 19:115-118, 1966. See also Rosenthal, R., and Jacobson, L., Pygmalion in the Classroom, Holt-Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1968. For Rosenthal's earlier work on self-fulfilling prophecies in laboratory experiments (randomly selected rats that the experimenters were told had been especially bred for maze-brightness or maze-dullness), see Rosenthal, R., "On the Social Psychology of the Psychological Experiment: The Experimenter's Hypothesis as Unintended Determinant of Experimental Results," American Scientist, 51:268-283, June 1963.

28. (a) Wickman, E. K., *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, The Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1928, pp. 77-78.

    (b) Coleman, J. S., *Social Climates in High Schools*, Cooperative Research Monograph No. 4, OE-33016, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1957, pp. 49-53.

    (c) Ulmann, C. A., *Identification of Maladjusted School Children*, Public Health Monograph No. 7, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1957, pp. 37 & 39.

    (d) Pollack, J. H., "Are Teachers Fair to Boys?" *Today's Health* (Published by the AMA), Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 20-25, April 1968.

    (e) Tryon, Caroline M., *Evaluations of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents*, No. IV, Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, National Research Council, Washington, D. C., 1939, p. 77.

29. Weatherman, R. F., "A Study of the Relationships of Mobility to Academic Self-Concept and Academic Achievement of Sixth-Grade Children," Ed.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, *Dissertation Abstracts*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 2357-2358, 1964-65, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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CHAPTER VIII

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. See: (a) Merton, R. K., "The Role-Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," British Journal of Sociology, 8:106-120, June 1957; and (b) Shostack, A. B. (ed.), Sociology in Action: Case Studies in Social Problems and Directed Social Change, The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois, 1966.
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ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT TABLES

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ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT TABLES

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APPENDIX A

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT TABLES

TABLE 1

1964-65 SAMPLE: STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, FORM "W" PARTIAL BATTERY, FALL 1964

Note: (a) "Partial Battery" consists of 7 sub-tests: word meaning, paragraph meaning, spelling, language, arithmetic computation, arithmetic concepts, arithmetic application. ("Full Battery" consists of 7 aforementioned sub-tests plus social studies and science.)

(b) Raw scores were converted into standard z-scores; scores on the 7 sub-tests are averaged. Standard scores are those with a mean of 50 and S.D. of 15; they thus range approximately from zero to 100.

(c) "Low mobility" classrooms are those with 0-7% military dependents, i.e., mostly local pupils; "medium mobility," 15-40% military dependents; "high mobility," 56-100% military dependents, i.e., where local pupils are a minority. Each group consists of 10 classrooms.

Classroom Group	No. of Pupils	Mean of Standard Scores	S.D.
Low Mobility	211	49.62	8.28
Medium Mobility	264	48.25	8.55
High Mobility	254	50.47	8.23
	729	49.42	8.40

F-ratio is 4.64. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 2

1964-65 SAMPLE: STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, PARTIAL BATTERY, FORM "X," SPRING 1965

Note: See "note" with previous Table.

Classroom Group	No. of Pupils	Mean of Standard Scores	S.D.
Low Mobility	211	49.76	7.96
Medium Mobility	264	48.82	7.88
High Mobility	254	50.85	8.08
	729	49.80	8.01

F-ratio is 4.22. P is less than 0.05.

TABLE 3

1964-65 SAMPLE: AVERAGE SCORE ON EACH SUB-TEST -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, PARTIAL BATTERY, FORM "W," FALL 1964

Note: Raw scores are used.

Class Group	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language Composite	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
Low Mobility	27.35	38.31	33.64	88.58	17.97	16.37	20.27
Medium Mobility	26.09	35.93	31.88	88.53	17.97	16.30	19.38
High Mobility	28.22	39.69	33.64	90.74	18.99	16.90	21.63
Total Averages	27.20	37.96	33.05	88.29	18.30	16.52	20.42
F-ratios	3.93	7.56	2.15	7.28	1.95	0.74	5.37
P	$<.05$	$<.01$	$>.05$	$<.01$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$<.01$

TABLE 4

1964-65 SAMPLE: AVERAGE SCORE ON EACH SUB-TEST -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, PARTIAL BATTERY, FORM "X," SPRING 1965

Note: Raw scores are used.

Class Group	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language Composite	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
Low Mobility	29.95	38.50	35.00	94.52	22.10	18.23	21.85
Medium Mobility	29.50	37.82	33.72	90.29	21.69	18.43	21.09
High Mobility	30.05	41.72	36.51	96.51	22.94	19.54	23.28
Total Averages	29.83	39.32	35.06	93.78	22.24	18.72	22.06
F-ratios	0.36	8.04	4.32	8.71	1.95	2.88	5.39
P	$>.05$	$<.01$	$<.05$	$<.01$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$<.01$

TABLE 5

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT AS MEASURED BY GRADE-POINT AVERAGES FOR PUPILS IN EACH CLASSROOM MOBILITY GROUP

Note: (a) The 7 school subjects averaged are: reading, English, spelling, handwriting, arithmetic, social studies, and science.

(b) Letter-grades were converted into a numerical scale ranging from 14 for "A+" to 1 for "F." With regard to numbers in the Table, 8, 9, and 10 represent grades "C+," "B-," & "B," respectively.

Classroom Group	No. of Pupils	Grade-Point Average	S.D.
Low Mobility	257	8.75	2.35
Medium Mobility	263	9.57	2.23
High Mobility	286	9.68	2.32
	806	9.35	2.34

F-ratio is 12.99. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 6

1964-65 SAMPLE: AVERAGE END-OF-YEAR GRADES PER SCHOOL SUBJECT AS OBTAINED BY PUPILS IN EACH CLASSROOM MOBILITY GROUP

Note: See "note" in previous Table.

Classroom Group	No. of Pupils	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
Low Mobility	257	8.67	8.57	10.07	10.15	8.30	8.16	8.12
Medium Mobility	263	9.71	9.54	10.57	9.73	9.08	9.07	8.92
High Mobility	286	10.07	9.44	10.65	10.29	9.08	8.87	9.15
	806	9.51	9.20	10.44	10.06	8.83	8.71	8.74
F-ratios		25.26	11.52	3.35	3.91	6.31	7.14	11.21
p		$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.05$	$<.05$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$

TABLE 7

1965-66 SAMPLE: THE LORGE-THORNDIKE INTELLIGENCE TEST (MULTI-LEVEL EDITION, VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL BATTERIES, FORM 1)

Classroom Group	No. of Pupils	Mean of Raw Scores	S.D.
Low Mobility	257	113.33	12.32
Medium Mobility	376	107.70	14.00
High Mobility	208	102.82	14.14
	841	108.21	14.08

F-ratio is 35.09. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 8

1965-66 SAMPLE: STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, FORM "W," FULL BATTERY -- OVERALL SCORES, UNADJUSTED FOR IQ -- FALL 1965

Classroom Group	N	$\bar{Y}$	s_y
Low Mobility	254	52.06	7.79
Medium Mobility	304	49.06	8.58
High Mobility	142	45.80	7.80
Total	700	49.49	8.45

F-ratio is 27.71 P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 9

1965-66 SAMPLE: STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, FORM "X," FULL BATTERY -- OVERALL SCORES, UNADJUSTED FOR IQ SPRING 1966

Group	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y
Low Mobility	254	51.72	7.47
Medium Mobility	304	48.95	8.76
High Mobility	142	46.14	7.94
Total	700	49.39	8.39

F-ratio is 22.11. P is less than 0.01.

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TABLE 10

1965-66 SAMPLE: STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, FORM "W," FULL BATTERY, FALL 1965

(a) "Full Battery" consists of 9 Sub-tests: word meaning, paragraph meaning, spelling, language, arithmetic computation, arithmetic concepts, arithmetic applications, social studies, and science.

(b) Raw scores were standardized as Z-scores -- mean of 50 and standard deviation of 15 -- before scores for all sub-tests were averaged.

(c) "Low-mobility" classrooms are those composed predominantly of "local" pupils; "medium-mobility" ones are half-and-half; and "high-mobility" ones are predominantly made up of military dependents.

(d) "N" is number of pupils; "$\bar{Y}$" is mean of standard scores of achievement; "S_y" is standard deviation of achievement scores; "rx_y" is correlation between IQ and achievement ("x" is IQ; "y" is achievement); "b_{xy}" is regression of IQ and achievement; "$\bar{Y}'$" is average of adjusted achievement in relation to IQ.

Classroom Group	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
Low Mobility	250	52.00	7.78			49.69
Medium Mobility	314	49.05	8.66			49.43
High Mobility	144	45.69	7.84			48.88
				0.84	0.52	
	708	49.42	8.50	0.85		

F-ratio is 1.39. P is greater than 0.05.

TABLE 11

1965-66 SAMPLE: STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, FORM "X," FULL BATTERY, SPRING 1966

Classroom Group	N	$\overline{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\overline{Y}'$
Low Mobility	251	51.71	7.49			49.32
Medium Mobility	315	48.82	8.71			49.26
High Mobility	148	46.11	8.14			49.22
				0.83	0.51	
	714	49.28	8.43	0.84		

F-ratio is 2.62. P is greater than 0.05.

TABLE 12

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE SCORE ON EACH SUB-TEST, UNADJUSTED FOR IQ -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, FULL BATTERY, FORM "W," FALL 1965

Class Group	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language Composite	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
Low Mobility	29.20	41.96	36.04	96.90	19.49	19.35	23.17	46.22	36.51
Medium Mobility	28.43	37.58	32.96	89.08	17.93	17.56	21.35	42.49	33.97
High Mobility	25.03	35.81	29.21	82.51	15.20	15.04	17.87	40.17	31.08
Total	26.96	38.52	33.01	89.95	17.75	17.50	21.06	43.10	34.07
F-ratio	13.89	17.19	23.02	48.62	25.25	32.35	29.37	21.81	18.66
P	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$

TABLE 13

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE SCORE ON EACH SUB-TEST, UNADJUSTED FOR IQ -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, FULL BATTERY, FORM "X," SPRING 1966

Class Group	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language Composite	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
Low Mobility	33 78	44.58	39.08	103.54	23.25	21.21	24.88	50.70	39.85
Medium Mobility	30.84	40.80	35.74	92.73	23.31	20.77	22.34	46.17	38.10
High Mobility	23.34	39.64	33.88	91.59	20.38	17.47	20.24	45.17	34.19
Total	31.20	41.77	36.39	96.07	22.56	20.10	22.66	47.44	37.67
F-ratio	27.55	12.89	15.09	41.50	10.63	20.85	21.77	18.14	20.57
P	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$

TABLE 14

1965-66 SAMPLE: GRADE-POINT AVERAGES FOR PUPILS IN THE THREE CLASSROOM GROUPS--UNADJUSTED FOR IQ

Classroom Group	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y
Low Mobility	255	8.67	1.95
Medium Mobility	348	8.17	2.65
High Mobility	179	8.80	2.49
	782	8.48	2.41

F-ratio is 5.24. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 15

1965-66 SAMPLE: MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES IN SEVEN SCHOOL SUBJECTS FOR THREE CLASSROOM GROUPS -- UNADJUSTED FOR IQ

Classroom Group	N	Rdg.	Eng.	Spell.	Hdwg.	Arith	Soc. Stud.	Sci.
Low Mobility	255	8.92	8.69	9.82	9.16	9.00	8.68	8.90
Medium Mobility	348	8.77	8.55	9.66	8.95	7.88	7.78	7.93
High Mobility	177	9.33	8.88	9.92	10.68	8.93	8.37	8.92
Total	780	8.94	8.67	9.77	9.42	8.49	8.21	8.47

	Rdg.	Eng.	Spell.	Hdwg.	Arith	Soc. Stud.	Sci.
F-ratio	2.94	0.89	0.43	27.15	8.39	7.66	11.81
P	>.05	>.05	>.05	<01	<.01	<.01	<.01

TABLE 16

1965-66 SAMPLE: GRADE-POINT AVERAGES FOR PUPILS IN THE THREE CLASSROOM GROUPS WITH IQ EFFECT STATISTICALLY CONTROLLED

Note: (a) For subjects averaged, see "note" with Table 5.

(b) For interpretation of Table headings see "note" with Table 10.

Classroom Group	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
Low Mobility	255	8.67	1.95			8.11
Medium Mobility	348	8.17	2.65			8.24
High Mobility	179	8.80	2.49			9.46
				0.62	0.11	
	782	8.48	2.41	0.58		

F-ratio is 5.24. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 17

1965-66 SAMPLE: MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES ON SEVEN SUBJECTS FOR PUPILS IN LOW, MEDIUM, AND HIGH MOBILITY CLASSES -- ADJUSTED FOR IQ

Classroom Group	No. of Pupils	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
Low Mobility	255	8.39	8.15	9.25	8.84	8.38	8.09	8.39
Medium Mobility	348	8.84	8.62	9.73	8.99	7.96	7.85	7.99
High Mobility	177	9.95	9.52	10.59	11.07	9.66	9.07	9.53
F-ratios		28.46	11.48	47.97	15.34	14.87	23.01	18.20
P		(All are less than 0.01.)						

TABLE 18

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS AND SEX -- AVERAGE SCORES ON THE STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, PARTIAL BATTERY, FORM "W," FALL 1964

Note: "Mobility status" refers to whether pupil is a P.L. 874 military dependent, a P.L. 874 federally-connected child, or a non-P.L. 874 local child. The heading "pupil groups" is equivalent to "mobility status."

Pupil Groups	N	Average Standard Score	S.D.
Mil. Dep. Boys	119	50.89	8.29
Fed. Conn. Boys	27	47.07	8.88
Local Boys	227	47.81	8.55
Mil. Dep. Girls	139	50.25	7.67
Fed. Conn. Girls	16	50.50	7.58
Local Girls	207	49.84	8.52
Total	735	49.37	8.40

F-ratio is 3.290. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 19

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX -- AVERAGE SCORES ON THE STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, PARTIAL BATTERY, FORM "X," SPRING 1965

Note: See "note" with Table 18.

Pupil Groups	N	Average Standard Score	S.D.
Mil. Dep. Boys	123	51.02	7.58
Fed. Conn. Boys	25	48.08	7.85
Local Boys	226	47.83	8.20
Mil. Dep. Girls	146	51.25	7.24
Fed. Conn. Girls	16	49.50	7.87
Local Girls	209	50.02	8.31
Total	745	49.68	8.03

F-ratio is 5.583. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 20

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX -- MEANS ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS, STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1964

Group	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
Mil. Dep. Boys	29.15	39.92	31.53	88.54	18.75	17.57	22.38
Fed. Conn. Boys	26.70	37.36	29.81	86.68	16.39	16.22	20.69
Local Boys	26.34	36.03	29.61	83.19	16.92	16.42	20.00
Mil. Dep. Girls	27.75	39.58	35.90	91.18	19.06	15.73	20.27
Fed. Conn. Girls	27.11	37.78	37.44	91.63	19.33	17.56	20.11
Local Girls	26.46	37.24	35.11	89.63	18.91	16.03	19.57
Total	27.12	37.75	32.77	87.62	18.21	16.39	20.35
F-ratio	2.380	3.206	10.423	7.098	3.659	1.727	2.502
P	< .05	< .01	< .01	< .01	< .01	> .05	< .01

TABLE 21

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX -- MEANS ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS, STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1965

Group	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
Mil. Dep. Boys	30.26	41.30	34.22	94.33	22.71	20.15	23.69
Fed. Conn. Boys	29.77	38.81	33.81	92.34	20.10	18.60	22.40
Local Boys	29.62	36.70	31.07	88.77	20.09	18.16	21.27
Mil. Dep. Girls	30.63	42.00	39.00	97.95	23.71	18.64	22.67
Fed. Conn. Girls	29.50	37.83	38.44	96.56	21.78	18.72	21.00
Local Girls	29.19	39.06	36.96	95.64	22.96	18.10	21.37
Total	29.79	39.20	34.98	93.64	22.04	18.59	21.99
F-ratio	0.745	5.127	14.414	7.150	6.179	2.070	2.532
P	>.05	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01	>.05	<.05

TABLE 22

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX -- GRADE-POINT AVERAGES

Pupil Group	N	Grade Point Average	S.D.
Mil. Dep. Boys	120	9.74	2.12
Fed. Conn. Boys	27	8.20	2.36
Local Boys	228	8.76	2.39
Mil. Dep. Girls	143	10.23	2.12
Fed. Conn. Girls	14	9.16	2.06
Local Girls	206	9.68	2.19
Total	738	9.45	2.30

F-ratio is 10.436. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 23

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX -- AVERAGE END-OF-YEAR GRADES PER SCHOOL SUBJECT

Pupil Group	N	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
Mil. Dep. Boys	138	9.60	9.44	10.64	9.53	9.32	9.09	9.77
Fed. Conn. Boys	31	8.13	8.16	10.00	9.16	8.03	8.39	7.97
Local Boys	255	8.88	8.35	9.51	9.30	8.23	8.14	8.27
Mil. Dep. Girls	156	10.56	10.15	11.26	10.86	9.37	9.22	9.68
Fed. Conn. Girls	16	8.94	8.81	10.69	10.88	9.00	8.44	8.38
Local Girls	228	9.69	9.55	10.98	10.76	9.01	8.86	9.52
Total	824	9.52	9.21	10.48	10.06	8.85	8.72	9.13

F-ratio	12.276	12.782	11.038	15.730	4.704	3.619	2.087
P	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01	>.05

TABLE 24

1964-65 SAMPLE: AVERAGE SCORES ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS FOR MILITARY DEPENDENTS, OTHER FEDERALLY-CONNECTED, & LOCAL PUPILS -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1964

	Word Meaning	Para. Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arith. Comp.	Arith. Concepts	Arith. Applic.
Military Dependents	28.42	40.07	34.29	90.88	19.05	16.72	21.25
Other Fed. Conn. Pupils	27.35	37.98	33.19	89.00	17.57	16.98	20.62
Local Pupils	26.53	36.83	32.38	86.82	18.00	16.35	19.94
Total	27.20	37.97	33.06	88.28	18.32	16.51	20.42

F-ratio	3.967	7.129	2.428	5.767	2.291	0.451	2.348
P	<.05	<.01	>.05	<.01	>.05	>.05	>.05

TABLE 25

1964-65 SAMPLE: AVERAGE SCORES ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS FOR MILITARY DEPENDENTS, OTHER FEDERALLY-CONNECTED, & LOCAL PUPILS -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1965

	Word Meaning	Para. Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arith. Comp.	Arith. Concepts	Arith. Applic.
Military	30.65	42.09	36.83	96.71	23.46	19.53	23.18
Fed. Conn.	29.67	38.45	35.27	94.40	21.02	18.87	22.13
Local	29.39	37.89	34.12	92.18	21.73	18.27	21.45
Total	29.82	39.32	35.08	93.80	22.26	18.72	22.06
F-ratio	2.134	10.910	5.347	5.781	4.708	2.994	4.285
P	$>.05$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$>.05$	$<.05$

TABLE 26

1964-65 SAMPLE: GRADE-POINT AVERAGES OF MILITARY DEPENDENTS, OTHER FEDERALLY-CONNECTED PUPILS, & LOCAL PUPILS

Note: See "note," Table 5

Pupil Group	N	Grade-Point Average	S.D.
Military Dependents	290	9.89	2.10
Other Fed. Conn.	46	8.61	2.32
Local Pupils	469	9.08	2.41
	805	9.35	2.34

F-ratio is 13.69. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 27

1964-65 SAMPLE: MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES FOR MILITARY DEPENDENTS, OTHER FEDERALLY-CONNECTED PUPILS, AND LOCAL PUPILS

Pupil Group	N	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
Mil. Deps.	290	10.11	9.81	10.95	10.24	9.36	9.14	9.23
Other Fed. Conn.	46	8.30	8.28	10.17	9.67	8.26	8.30	8.02
Local	470	9.26	8.91	10.16	9.99	8.56	8.48	8.51
	806	9.51	9.20	10.44	10.06	8.83	8.71	8.74
F-ratios		17.51	14.50	7.48	1.62	77.50	52.88	8.59
P		< .01	< .01	< .01	> .05	< .01	< .01	< .01

TABLE 28

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY SEX, AVERAGE SCORES ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1964

	Word Meaning	Para. Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arith. Comp.	Arith. Concepts	Arith. Applic.
Boys	27.43	37.78	30.55	86.09	17.61	17.05	20.88
Girls	26.97	38.17	35.65	90.50	19.04	15.96	19.94
Total	27.20	37.97	33.06	88.28	18.32	16.51	20.42
F-ratio	0.559	0.241	42.151	15.791	8.852	6.330	2.813
P	$>.05$	$>.05$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.05$	$>.05$

TABLE 29

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY SEX, AVERAGE SCORES ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1965

	Word Meaning	Para. Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arith. Comput.	Arith. Concepts	Arith. Application
Boys	29.91	38.48	32.51	90.95	21.17	19.01	22.21
Girls	29.74	40.18	37.73	96.67	23.37	18.43	21.91
Total	29.82	39.32	35.08	93.80	22.26	18.72	22.06
F-ratio	0.091	3.992	48.32	21.72	15.681	1.477	0.288
P	>.05	<.05	<.01	<.01	<.01	>.05	>.05

TABLE 30

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY SEX -- GRADE-POINT AVERAGES

Pupil Group	N	Grade-Point Average	S.D.
Boys	414	8.94	2.39
Girls	392	9.78	2.20
	806	9.35	2.34

F-ratio is 26.41. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 31

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY SEX -- MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES FOR SCHOOL SUBJECTS

Pupil Group	N	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
Boys	414	9.05	8.68	9.87	9.37	8.55	8.45	8.56
Girls	392	9.99	9.75	11.05	10.79	9.13	8.98	8.94
	806	9.51	9.20	10.44	10.06	8.83	8.71	8.94
F-ratios		31.47	35.89	36.90	76.86	8.01	67.55	4.00
P		$< .01$	$< .01$	$< .01$	$< .01$	$< .01$	$< .01$	$< .05$

TABLE 32

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE IQ'S OF MOBILE & LOCAL BOYS & GIRLS (THE LORGE-THORNDIKE INTELLIGENCE TEST, MULTI-LEVEL EDITION, VERBAL & NON-VERBAL BATTERIES, FORM 1)

Pupil Group	N	Average IQ	S.D.
Mobile Boys	119	106.97	13.39
Mobile Girls	123	107.43	13.57
Local Boys	212	110.74	14.03
Local Girls	209	110.53	13.08
	663	110.53	13.08

F-ratio is 3.32. P is less than 0.05.

TABLE 33

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX, UNADJUSTED FOR IQ -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1965

Pupil Group	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y
Mobile Boys	136	48.60	8.44
Mobile Girls	132	47.94	8.17
Local Boys	218	50.69	8.59
Local Girls	214	49.78	8.33
Total	700	49.49	8.45

F-ratio is 3.57. P is less than 0.05.

TABLE 34

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX, UNADJUSTED FOR IQ -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1966

Pupil Group	N	$\overline{Y}$	S_y
Mobile Boys	136	48.29	8.43
Mobile Girls	132	47.96	8.47
Local Boys	218	50.50	8.44
Local Girls	214	49.82	8.12
Total	700	49.39	8.39

F-ratio is 3.56. P is less than 0.05.

TABLE 35

1965-66 SAMPLE: MEANS ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS, UNADJUSTED FOR IQ, BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1965

Group	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
Mobile Boys	27.37	39.24	30.65	85.99	16.58	17.58	21.43	44.51	34.90
Mobile Girls	26.27	37.64	33.88	88.32	17.01	15.79	19.32	41.16	32.44
Local Boys	28.94	39.31	32.49	90.81	18.23	19.33	22.90	45.51	36.64
Local Girls	26.40	39.36	36.14	95.32	19.02	17.43	21.38	42.49	33.64
Total	27.33	38.98	33.49	90.72	17.89	17.71	21.44	43.54	34.56
F-ratio	3.947	0.746	8.300	11.413	4.972	11.09	6.583	6.804	6.835
P	< .01	> .05	< .01	.01	< .01	< .01	< .01	< .01	< .01

TABLE 36

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX -- MEANS ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ), STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1966

Group	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
Mobile Boys	31.30	42.49	34.08	92.06	21.54	20.08	22.93	48.26	38.73
Mobile Girls	29.57	40.92	37.54	94.26	22.98	18.75	20.59	45.04	35.17
Local Boys	33.21	42.78	35.49	96.34	22.84	21.61	24.50	49.942	39.71
Local Girls	31.33	42.29	39.18	100.85	23.53	20.38	22.91	47.10	37.77
Total	31.54	42.21	36.71	96.44	22.81	20.37	22.93	47.78	38.02
F-ratio	6.494	0.863	8.755	9.311	1.983	5.606	5.835	6.473	7.294
P	< .01	> .05	< .01	< .01	> .05	< .01	< .01	< .01	< .01

TABLE 37

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS AND SEX -- GRADE-POINT AVERAGE

Pupil Group	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
Mobile Boys	159	8.08	2.77			8.27
Mobile Girls	170	8.92	2.35			9.18
Local Boys	225	8.02	2.33			7.84
Local Girls	225	8.89	2.14			8.73
				0.60	0.11	
	779	8.48	2.14	0.58		

Adjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 17.96. P is less than 0.01.

Unadjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 8.47. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 38

1965-66 SAMPLE: MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ) OBTAINED BY MOBILE BOYS, MOBILE GIRLS, LOCAL BOYS, AND LOCAL GIRLS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS

Pupil Group	N	Rdg.	Eng.	Spell.	Hand-wrtg.	Arith.	Soc. Stud.	Sci.
Mobile Boys	159	8.73	8.26	8.96	9.14	8.24	8.01	8.16
Mobile Girls	170	8.48	7.93	9.02	8.44	8.23	8.01	8.39
Local Boys	225	9.39	9.26	10.72	10.24	8.61	8.42	8.56
Local Girls	225	9.22	9.27	10.40	9.95	8.80	8.39	8.69
	779	8.94	8.67	9.78	9.41	8.48	8.21	8.47
F-ratio		5.71	14.46	17.19	19.39	1.18	1.16	1.18
P		<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01	>.05	>.05	>.05

TABLE 39

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1965

Note: For interpretation of Table-headings, see Table 10.

Pupil Group	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
Mobile Boys	117	48.60	8.57			49.84
Mobile Girls	122	47.90	8.28			48.97
Local Boys	212	50.59	8.66			49.91
Local Girls	210	50.08	8.31			49.46
				0.85	0.53	
	661	49.58	8.51	0.85		

F-ratio is 1.33. P is larger than 0.05.

TABLE 40

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1966

Note: For interpretation of Table-headings, see Table 10.

Pupil Group	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
Mobile Boys	119	48.49	8.38			49.71
Mobile Girls	118	48.43	8.56			49.42
Local Boys	211	50.50	8.50			49.79
Local Girls	207	49.99	8.06			49.44
				0.83	0.51	
	655	49.60	8.38			

F-ratio is 0.29. P is larger than 0.05.

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TABLE 41

1965-66 SAMPLE: MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADE GOTTEN BY MOBILE BOYS, MOBILE GIRLS, LOCAL BOYS, AND LOCAL GIRLS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS

Pupil Group	N	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
Mobile Boys	159	8.92	8.46	9.16	9.24	8.45	8.22	8.34
Mobile Girls	170	9.65	9.52	10.99	10.37	8.90	8.70	8.79
Local Boys	225	8.29	7.76	8.85	8.36	8.04	7.82	8.23
Local Girls	225	9.08	9.12	10.23	9.67	8.63	8.22	8.54
F-ratios		14.00	24.99	26.15	23.86	2.32	4.09	1.80
P		$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.01$	$>.05$	$<.01$	$>.05$

TABLE 42

1964-65 SAMPLE: AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1964

No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	Average Standard Score	S.D.
1	352	49.15	8.81
2	114	48.75	8.16
3	104	51.24	8.06
4	86	49.90	8.17
5	46	48.63	7.98
6 or more	27	48.63	5.81
	729	49.42	8.40

F-ratio is 1.38. P is larger than 0.05.

TABLE 43

1964-65 SAMPLE: AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1965

No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	Average Standard Score	S.D.
1	352	49.34	8.54
2	114	49.51	7.41
3	104	51.94	7.44
4	86	50.07	7.59
5	46	49.20	7.94
6 or more	27	48.96	5.87
	729	49.80	8.01

F-ratio is 1.89 P is larger than 0.05.

TABLE 44

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT IN RELATION TO NO. OF CITIES IN WHICH SCHOOL WAS ATTENDED -- MEANS ON SUB-TESTS OF STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FORM "W," FALL 1964

No. of Cities	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
1	26.68	37.19	32.94	86.92	18.19	16.52	20.01
2	26.51	37.43	31.10	86.78	18.00	16.01	20.21
3	28.79	40.08	35.13	91.39	19.21	16.99	21.75
4	27.83	38.87	32.45	88.73	18.36	16.67	20.70
5	26.64	38.18	31.98	87.26	18.56	15.74	20.32
6 or more	27.94	40.10	32.94	87.26	16.22	16.28	20.97
Total	**27.14**	**37.99**	**32.86**	**87.79**	**18.28**	**16.47**	**20.42**
F-ratios	1.35	1.51	1.64	1.67	1.11	0.49	0.96
P	(All are over 0.05.)						

TABLE 45

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT IN RELATION TO NO. OF CITIES IN WHICH SCHOOL WAS ATTENDED -- MEANS ON SUB-TESTS OF STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FORM "X," SPRING 1965

No. of Cities	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
1	29.45	38.27	34.41	92.83	22.11	18.31	21.61
2	30.05	38.59	35.08	93.65	21.64	18.67	21.46
3	31.25	42.78	37.37	97.35	23.53	19.84	23.66
4	29.89	39.49	35.01	94.71	21.82	18.42	22.27
5	29.98	39.83	35.50	92.47	22.26	19.37	22.70
6 or more	28.00	38.85	33.59	91.63	20.39	18.41	21.85
Total	29.81	39.22	35.02	93.73	22.12	18.66	22.03
F-ratios	1.33	2.70	1.48	1.45	1.28	1.10	1.53
P	> .05	< .05	> .05	> .05	> .05	> .05	> .05

TABLE 46

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES -- GRADE-POINT AVERAGES

No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	G.P.A.	S.D.
1	384	9.19	2.49
2	117	9.21	2.13
3	111	9.99	2.20
4	97	9.49	2.15
5	51	9.38	2.34
6 or more	38	9.28	2.10
	798	9.36	2.34

F-ratio is 2.17. P is larger than 0.05.

TABLE 47

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES -- AVERAGE GRADES IN VARIOUS SCHOOL SUBJECTS

No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	Reading	English	Spelling	Hand-writing	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
1	384	9.31	8.99	10.27	10.14	8.69	8.64	8.68
2	117	9.26	9.28	10.41	9.67	8.81	8.55	8.28
3	111	10.14	9.91	10.92	10.47	9.51	9.29	9.44
4	97	9.77	9.30	10.74	9.86	8.70	8.67	8.92
5	51	9.51	9.27	10.59	9.59	9.04	8.76	8.47
6 or more	38	10.03	8.82	10.13	10.53	8.53	8.18	8.92
Total	798	9.52	9.21	10.45	10.07	8.84	8.71	8.76
F-ratios		2.85	2.40	1.29	2.17	1.53	1.26	2.52
P		$< .05$	$< .05$	$> .05$	$> .05$	$> .05$	$> .05$	$> .05$

TABLE 48

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE IQ IN RELATION TO NO. OF CITIES IN WHICH PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL -- THE LORGE-THORNDIKE INTELLIGENCE TEST

No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	Average IQ	S.D.
1	246	111.43	13.28
2	204	107.68	13.95
3	155	106.87	15.19
4	117	104.27	13.80
5	72	108.07	14.44
6 or more	43	107.49	12.29
	837	108.18	14.10

F-ratio is 4.87. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 49

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ) -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1965

No. of Cities	N	$\overline{Y}$	S_y
1	238	50.52	8.11
2	177	49.10	8.76
3	122	48.85	8.66
4	85	48.29	8.20
5	54	49.80	8.76
6 or more	24	48.88	8.23
Total	700	49.49	8.45

F-ratio is 1.31. P is over 0.05.

TABLE 50

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ) -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1965

No. of Cities	N	$\overline{Y}$	S_y
1	238	50.43	8.02
2	177	49.06	8.79
3	122	48.93	8.38
4	85	47.86	8.16
5	54	49.81	8.80
6 or more	24	48.17	8.47
Total	700	49.39	8.39

F-ratio is 1.56. P is more than 0.05.

TABLE 51

1965-66 SAMPLE: MEANS ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ) OF PUPILS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CITIES IN WHICH THEY ATTENDED SCHOOL -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1965

No. of Cities	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
1	27.70	40.08	34.31	94.34	18.72	18.72	22.29	44.27	35.06
2	26.57	37.09	33.94	89.97	18.19	17.58	21.16	42.96	33.72
3	26.58	38.29	31.66	87.30	17.13	16.93	20.78	42.37	33.38
4	27.17	37.66	30.56	85.81	16.11	16.17	19.20	41.22	33.27
5	26.38	39.13	33.72	88.33	17.37	16.82	20.28	44.44	34.15
6 or more	27.35	39.03	32.94	89.03	17.26	16.85	21.15	44.00	34.76
Total	27.01	38.56	33.11	90.08	17.77	17.52	21.10	43.19	34.09
F-ratio	0.538	1.524	2.521	5.870	2.865	3.749	2.725	1.806	0.904
P	>.05	>.05	<.05	<.01	<.05	<.01	<.01	>.05	>.05

TABLE 52

1965-66 SAMPLE: MEANS ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ) OF PUPILS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CITIES IN WHICH THEY ATTENDED SCHOOL -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1966

No. of Cities	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
1	32.58	43.15	37.54	99.92	23.02	20.76	23.65	48.63	38.69
2	31.02	41.28	37.24	96.28	22.92	20.46	22.75	46.59	37.45
3	30.30	40.38	34.18	92.85	22.09	19.83	21.68	46.44	36.90
4	29.31	39.79	34.32	91.13	21.17	18.36	21.25	45.78	36.93
5	31.45	43.73	37.80	96.91	23.32	20.59	22.95	49.62	37.69
6 or more	31.77	43.13	36.46	95.37	22.40	18.90	23.13	48.66	36.98
Total	31.21	41.80	36.40	96.12	22.58	20.10	22.68	47.45	37.66
F-ratio	2.910	2.341	3.126	5.344	1.163	2.316	2.016	2.053	0.897
P	< .05	< .05	< .01	< .01	> .05	< .05	> .05	> .05	> .05

TABLE 53

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES -- GRADE-POINT AVERAGES WITH THE IQ STATISTICALLY-CONTROLLED

No. of Cities	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
1	241	8.55	2.22			8.24
2	194	8.42	2.39			8.46
3	140	8.34	2.36			8.46
4	106	8.49	2.68			8.88
5	63	8.68	2.78			8.70
6 or more	36	8.75	2.39	0.60	0.11	9.02
	780	8.49	2.40	0.59		

Adjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 2.32. P is less than 0.05.

Unadjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 0.33. P is over 0.05.

TABLE 54

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES -- MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES FOR VARIOUS SCHOOL SUBJECTS (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ)

No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
1	240	8.78	8.65	9.85	9.30	8.55	8.32	8.69
2	193	8.91	8.65	9.77	9.43	8.45	7.94	8.35
3	140	8.96	8.52	9.57	9.14	8.14	8.26	8.44
4	106	9.12	8.78	9.90	9.61	8.84	8.21	7.98
5	63	9.32	8.89	9.89	9.86	8.43	8.81	8.78
6 or more	36	9.08	9.22	9.86	9.81	9.00	8.06	9.00
	778	8.95	8.69	9.79	9.42	8.50	8.23	8.49
F-ratios		0.61	0.52	0.20	0.95	0.59	0.96	1.41
P		>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05

TABLE 55

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1965

Note: For interpretation of Table-headings, see Table 10.

No. of Cities	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
1	235	50.52	8.15			49.23
2	171	49.29	8.94			49.57
3	122	48.96	8.75			49.46
4	69	48.57	8.47			50.13
5	49	49.27	8.74			50.38
6 or more	16	48.19	6.48			50.16
				0.85	0.53	
	662	49.56	8.52	0.85		

F-ratio is 0.87. P is larger than 0.05.

TABLE 56

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1966

No. of Cities	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
1	235	50.34	8.09			49.14
2	167	49.40	8.77			49.59
3	119	49.04	8.37			49.65
4	70	48.39	8.54			49.90
5	49	49.80	8.62			50.76
6 or more	17	48.23	7.61			49.77
				0.84	0.52	
	657	49.56	8.39	0.84		

F-ratio is 1.13. P is larger than 0.05.

TABLE 57

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES -- MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES FOR VARIOUS SCHOOL SUBJECTS

No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
1	240	8.47	8.35	9.54	9.15	8.19	7.98	8.41
2	193	8.94	8.69	9.81	9.45	8.49	7.99	8.39
3	140	9.08	8.63	9.69	9.20	8.27	8.38	8.54
4	106	9.51	9.16	10.30	9.81	9.28	8.63	8.33
5	63	9.34	8.91	9.91	9.87	8.45	8.83	8.79
6 or more	36	9.35	9.48	10.13	9.94	9.30	8.35	9.25
F-ratios		4.62	2.97	1.26	1.78	2.06	2.34	1.06
P		<.01	<.01	>.05	>.05	>.05	<.01	>.05

TABLE 58

1965-66 SAMPLE: IQ AVERAGES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF CITIES IN WHICH P.L. 874 MILITARY DEPENDENTS AND NON-P.L. 874 CIVILIAN PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL

Pupil Group	No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	Average IQ	S.D.
Military Dependents	1-2	50	107.84	11.62
	3	75	107.93	14.41
	4 or more	117	106.47	13.53
Civilian Pupils	1-2	355	110.95	13.53
	3	47	109.15	14.43
	4 or more	19	108.32	11.82
		663	109.38	13.61

F-ratio is 2.37. P is less than 0.05.

TABLE 59

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT IN RELATION TO NO. OF CITIES IN WHICH MILITARY DEPENDENTS AND REGULAR (NON-P.L. 874) PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL--STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1965

Pupil Group	No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
P.L. 874	1-2	50	47.32	8.11			48.11
Military	3	74	48.28	8.73			49.02
Dependents	4 or more	115	48.24	8.37			50.21
Non-P.L. 874	1-2	356	50.38	8.50			49.56
Civilian	3	47	50.30	8.62			50.39
Pupils	4 or more	19	49.74	8.10			50.28
					0.85	0.53	
		661	49.58	8.51	0.85		

Adjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 2.22. P is less than 0.05.

Unadjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 0.05. P is larger than 0.05.

TABLE 60

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT IN RELATION TO NO. OF CITIES IN WHICH MILITARY DEPENDENTS AND REGULAR (NON-P.L. 874) PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL--STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 196

Pupil Group	No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
P.L. 874 Mil Deps	1-2	49	47.59	8.60			48.31
	3	71	48.32	8.26			49.11
	4 or more	117	48.91	8.54			50.37
Non-P.L. 874 Civilian Pupils	1-2	353	50.28	8.31			49.49
	3	46	50.63	8.27			50.73
	4 or more	19	48.68	7.89			
					0.84	0.51	
		655	49.60	8.38	0.83		

Adjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 2.20. P is larger than 0.05.

Unadjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 1.71. P is larger than 0.05.

TABLE 61

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF CITIES & MOBILITY STATUS OF PUPILS -- GRADE-POINT AVERAGES (ADJUSTED FOR IQ)

Pupil Group	No. of Cities	No. of Pupils	$\overline{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\overline{Y}'$
P.L. 874	1-2	50	8.42	2.61			8.58
Military	3	75	8.47	2.30			8.62
Dependents	4 or more	117	8.68	2.62			8.98
Non-P.L. 874	1-2	355	8.60	2.22			8.43
Civilian	3	47	8.64	2.39			8.66
Pupils	4 or more	19	7.84	2.06			7.95
					0.61	0.11	
		663	8.57	2.34	0.60		

Adjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 1.97. P is over 0.05.

Unadjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 0.50. P is over 0.05.

TABLE 62

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, PARTIAL BATTERY, FORM "W," FALL 1964

No. of Schools	N	Average Standard Score	S.D.
1	83	50.27	7.61
2	205	48.71	9.18
3	170	49.54	8.19
4	139	50.47	8.64
5	80	48.85	8.09
6 or more	57	48.49	6.66
Total	734	49.41	8.39

F-ratio is 1.119. P is over 0.05.

TABLE 63

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, PARTIAL BATTERY, FORM "X," SPRING 1965

No. of Schools	N	Average Standard Score	S.D.
1	83	50.86	7.89
2	203	48.75	8.94
3	175	49.87	7.69
4	140	50.36	8.13
5	82	49.68	7.25
6 or more	61	49.62	6.50
Total	744	49.72	8.03

F-ratio is 1.118. P is over 0.05.

TABLE 64

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, Fall 1964

No. of Schools Attended	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
1	27.25	38.14	34.49	87.81	20.43	17.87	22.01
2	26.14	38.46	32.51	85.93	18.00	16.01	19.48
3	27.32	38.36	32.91	89.47	18.20	16.44	20.62
4	28.45	38.37	33.17	88.84	18.49	16.86	20.94
5	26.77	37.83	31.98	88.41	18.20	15.76	20.06
6 or more	27.39	39.10	32.44	86.09	16.51	16.24	20.46
Total	27.14	37.80	32.86	87.79	18.28	16.47	20.42
F-ratio	1.34	1.01	0.53	1.40	2.71	1.45	1.54
P	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$<.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$

TABLE 65

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1965

No. of Schools Attended	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
1	30.33	40.11	35.30	94.59	25.09	20.45	23.32
2	28.96	37.55	34.59	91.67	21.55	17.59	21.09
3	30.06	39.84	35.23	95.29	21.96	18.97	22.33
4	30.67	40.32	35.86	95.10	22.16	18.69	22.07
5	30.10	39.56	34.81	93.29	22.45	18.87	22.19
6 or more	29.01	38.96	33.94	92.65	20.73	18.88	22.44
Total	29.81	38.92	35.02	93.73	22.12	18.66	22.03
F-ratio	1.17	1.40	0.45	1.28	3.20	2.50	1.27
P	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05	<.01	<.05	>.05

TABLE 66

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED -- GRADE-POINT AVERAGES

No. of Schools Attended	No. of Pupils	G.P.A.	S.D.
1	77	10.30	1.80
2	223	9.09	2.53
3	187	9.21	2.44
4	151	9.46	2.27
5	82	9.56	2.16
6 or more	78	9.11	2.14
	798	9.36	2.34

F-ratio is 36.55. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 67

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED -- MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES IN VARIOUS SUBJECTS

No. of Schools Attended	No. of Pupils	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
1	77	10.16	10.19	11.27	11.48	9.86	9.47	10.04
2	223	9.18	8.95	10.21	9.93	8.65	8.54	8.48
3	187	9.49	9.03	10.29	10.03	8.74	8.71	8.48
4	151	9.60	9.43	10.56	9.85	8.84	8.56	8.87
5	82	9.68	9.37	10.78	9.93	9.05	9.02	8.93
6 or more	78	9.64	8.83	10.14	9.72	8.41	8.35	8.54
	798	9.52	9.21	10.45	10.07	8.84	8.71	8.76
F-ratios		2.08	3.53	2.24	6.26	2.51	1.72	4.79
P		>.05	<.01	<.05	<.01	<.05	>.05	<.01

TABLE 68

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE IQ IN RELATION TO NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED -- THE LORGE-THORNDIKE INTELLIGENCE TEST, MULTI-LEVEL EDITION, VERBAL & NON-VERBAL, FORM 1

No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	Mean of Raw Scores	S.D.
1	31	113.48	13.41
2	129	110.09	13.62
3	203	109.51	14.05
4	173	108.09	13.71
5	131	106.09	14.07
6 or more	111	107.18	12.15
Total	778	108.54	13.69

F-ratio is 2.456 P is less than 0.05.

TABLE 69

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED -- AVERAGE SCORES ON THE STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, FORM "W," FALL 1965

No. of Schools	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
1	31	51.52	7.84			49.15
2	122	50.01	8.36			49.13
3	188	49.95	8.44			49.35
4	158	49.18	8.66			49.27
5	115	48.05	8.76			49.79
6 or more	91	49.03	8.17			49.89
				0.85	0.53	
Total	705	49.43	8.48	0.85		

(a) For unadjusted means: F-ratio is 1.307; P is over 0.05.
(b) For adjusted means: F-ratio is 0.511; P is over 0.05.

TABLE 70

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED AVERAGE SCORES ON THE STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, INTERMEDIATE II, FORM "X," SPRING 1966

No. of Schools	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
1	31	50.48	8.29			48.11
2	123	49.50	8.45			48.77
3	189	50.01				49.39
4	161	49.54	7.89			49.62
5	117	47.59	8.54			49.28
6 or more	90	48.99	8.47			49.79
				0.83	0.51	
Total	711	49.31	8.39	0.84		

(a) For unadjusted means: F-ratio is 1.436; P is over 0.05.

(b) For adjusted means: F-ratio is 1.110; P is over 0.05.

TABLE 71

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ) -- MEANS ON SUB-TESTS OF STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1965

No. of Schools	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
1	27.97	40.53	33.30	95.77	20.48	19.27	24.00	45.83	35.23
2	27.06	39.36	34.56	93.54	18.61	18.02	22.30	43.50	34.24
3	27.60	38.84	34.04	91.98	18.27	18.60	21.83	43.93	34.87
4	26.97	37.92	32.34	89.49	17.34	17.14	20.86	43.00	34.49
5	27.15	38.78	32.33	86.07	17.12	16.49	19.45	41.77	33.85
6 or more	25.82	37.69	32.73	88.63	17.32	16.79	20.53	42.75	32.44
Total	27.05	38.60	33.22	90.33	17.87	17.58	21.18	43.18	34.17
F-ratio	0.634	0.501	1.009	4.128	2.111	3.311	3.216	1.187	1.069
P	>.05	>.05	>.05	<.01	>.05	<.01	<.01	>.05	>.05

TABLE 72

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ) -- MEANS ON SUB-TESTS OF STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1966

No. of Schools	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
1	33.39	42.23	35.42	101.94	22.61	21.16	25.55	48.45	38.32
2	31.88	42.25	37.60	97.87	22.61	19.97	22.83	47.17	37.73
3	31.52	42.13	36.98	98.04	23.18	20.95	23.10	47.73	37.84
4	31.20	41.69	36.17	96.23	22.14	19.84	22.40	47.68	38.14
5	29.71	40.44	34.84	91.72	21.95	19.12	21.05	45.71	36.49
6 or more	30.85	42.08	36.51	93.74	23.15	19.86	23.03	48.19	37.856
Total	31.18	41.77	36.41	96.08	22.62	20.09	22.64	47.39	37.68
F-ratio	1.626	0.464	1.088	3.706	0.656	1.439	2.269	0.840	0.528
P	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$<.01$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$<.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$

TABLE 73

1965-66 SAMPLE: GRADE-POINT AVERAGES ACCORDING TO NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED

No. of Schools	N	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
1	31	7.78	1.93			7.35
2	129	8.29	2.26			8.13
3	203	8.58	2.44			8.48
4	173	8.51	2.36			8.56
5	131	8.53	2.57			8.79
6 or more	111	8.68	2.45			8.83
				0.60	0.11	
Total	778	8.50	2.40	0.59		

(a) For unadjusted means: F-ratio is 0.798; P is over 0.0

(b) For adjusted means: F-ratio is 4.386; P is under 0.01

TABLE 74

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED -- MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES IN SEVEN SUBJECTS (UNADJUSTED FOR IQ)

No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
1	31	7.68	7.48	9.03	8.55	8.35	8.45	8.55
2	129	8.59	8.56	9.70	9.17	8.16	8.04	8.40
3	203	9.15	8.69	9.84	9.41	8.52	8.21	8.51
4	173	9.06	8.84	9.64	9.43	8.49	8.38	8.62
5	131	8.92	8.62	9.93	9.63	8.66	8.05	8.36
6 or more	111	9.25	9.03	10.10	9.69	8.71	8.46	8.53
Total	778	8.95	8.69	9.79	9.42	8.50	8.24	8.49
F-ratio		2.789	1.866	0.749	1.232	0.345	0.478	0.160
P		$<.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$

TABLE 75

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED (ADJUSTED FOR IQ) -- MEANS ON SUB-TESTS OF STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1965

No. of Schools	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
1	25.76	37.39	30.85	91.42	19.10	17.97	22.32	43.40	32.92
2	26.18	38.13	33.45	91.51	17.98	17.32	21.40	42.32	33.25
3	27.06	38.08	33.45	90.94	17.98	18.24	21.37	43.30	34.25
4	27.06	38.08	32.48	89.90	17.44	17.25	20.99	43.15	34.61
5	28.07	40.02	33.39	88.17	17.76	17.18	20.34	43.05	35.07
6 or more	27.13	39.58	34.20	90.85	18.04	17.59	21.56	44.08	33.67
F-ratio	1.384	1.625	1.081	1.651	0.620	1.844	1.296	0.702	1.436
P	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05	>.05

TABLE 76

1965-66 SAMPLE: AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED (ADJUSTED FOR IQ) -- MEANS ON VARIOUS SUB-TESTS OF THE STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1966

No. of Schools	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application	Social Studies	Science
1	31.23	39.13	32.97	97.31	20.85	19.31	23.54	45.48	35.86
2	31.10	41.14	36.73	96.26	21.98	19.32	22.13	46.00	36.76
3	31.17	41.66	36.59	97.17	22.90	20.67	22.80	47.44	37.60
4	31.36	41.95	36.38	96.53	22.30	20.02	22.60	47.96	38.37
5	30.86	42.01	36.09	94.34	22.84	20.01	22.01	47.23	37.75
6 or more	31.35	42.82	37.11	94.91	23.56	20.30	23.51	48.67	38.24
F-ratio	0.150	1.373	1.359	1.380	1.582	1.706	1.417	2.245	1.505
P	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$<.01$	$>.05$

TABLE 77

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY NO. OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED -- MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES IN SEVEN SUBJECTS (ADJUSTED FOR IQ)

No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
1	31	7.18	6.98	8.50	8.29	7.76	7.89	8.07
2	129	8.39	8.40	9.53	9.09	7.79	7.86	8.25
3	203	9.06	8.60	9.73	9.36	8.41	8.10	8.42
4	173	9.11	8.89	9.69	9.43	8.55	8.43	8.66
5	131	9.17	8.87	10.20	9.76	8.96	8.33	8.59
6 or more	111	9.40	9.17	10.25	9.77	8.87	8.61	8.66
F-ratio		7.831	5.507	2.785	2.371	1.714	1.627	0.749
P		$<.01$	$<.01$	$<.05$	$<.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$	$>.05$

TABLE 78

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY AGE, AVERAGE SCORES ON SUB-TESTS -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, FALL 1964

Age Group (in months)	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
0-137	28.30	34.25	32.20	89.58	17.53	17.47	20.42
138-142	27.77	40.21	35.08	91.31	19.22	17.35	21.54
143-147	29.45	40.70	35.59	91.76	19.64	17.82	22.35
148-152	26.71	36.69	32.32	87.15	18.19	15.99	19.50
153-157	23.13	32.16	25.65	77.46	14.32	13.66	16.58
158-162	18.33	25.90	22.51	70.70	12.85	9.92	13.62
163-200	19.62	26.04	19.73	66.88	12.52	11.35	13.04
Total	27.13	37.82	32.90	87.81	18.28	16.45	20.40
F-ratio	16.48	29.31	21.76	28.98	14.13	17.71	16.40
P	< .01	< .01	< .01	< .01	< .01	< .01	< .01

TABLE 79

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY AGE, AVERAGE SCORES ON SUB-TESTS -- STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1965

Age Group (in months)	Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning	Spelling	Language	Arithmetic Computation	Arithmetic Concepts	Arithmetic Application
0-137	31.60	37.30	34.35	96.60	21.75	18.80	21.15
138-142	30.94	41.10	37.52	96.36	22.81	19.16	22.88
143-147	31.92	42.64	37.45	98.63	23.84	20.44	24.00
148-152	28.98	38.51	34.58	93.18	22.54	18.42	21.79
153-157	25.68	31.58	28.12	82.28	16.97	15.12	18.07
158-162	21.68	28.34	25.41	75.84	15.58	12.37	14.32
163-200	20.00	21.91	19.50	64.17	14.04	11.17	13.13
Total	29.80	39.23	35.09	93.72	22.12	18.63	22.01
F-ratio	21.90	26.26	25.01	32.31	17.26	19.01	20.08
P	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01

TABLE 80

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY AGE --GRADE-POINT AVERAGES

Age Group In Months		No. of Pupils	G.P.A.	S.D.
(1)	0-137	17	9.31	1.64
(2)	138-142	202	9.85	1.96
(3)	143-147	282	10.15	1.96
(4)	148-152	179	9.21	2.40
(5)	153-157	56	7.53	2.31
(6)	158-162	37	6.84	2.13
(7)	163-200	23	6.42	2.75
		796	9.36	2.34

F-ratio is 30.01. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 81

1964-65 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY AGE -- MEAN END-OF-YEAR GRADES FOR DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

Age Group in Months	No. of Pupils	Reading	English	Spelling	Handwriting	Arithmetic	Social Studies	Science
(1) 0-137	17	9.12	9.47	10.24	10.18	9.06	9.12	8.65
(2) 138-142	202	10.03	9.75	11.04	10.16	9.31	9.32	9.12
(3) 143-147	282	10.13	9.86	11.21	10.49	9.62	9.33	9.41
(4) 148-152	178	9.44	9.04	10.36	10.21	8.67	8.46	8.62
(5) 153-157	56	7.77	7.29	8.46	8.98	7.04	6.71	7.11
(6) 158-162	37	7.14	6.65	8.00	8.43	5.97	6.43	6.43
(7) 163-200	23	7.09	6.26	6.17	8.30	5.78	6.26	6.78
	795	9.53	9.21	10.47	10.07	8.86	8.72	8.77
F-ratios		22.18	24.22	28.14	8.84	20.54	16.74	15.56
P		(All are less than 0.01.)						

TABLE 82

1965-66 SAMPLE: AGE AND IQ AVERAGE -- THE LORGE-THORNDIKE INTELLIGENCE TEST

Age Group in Months		No. of Pupils	Average IQ	S.D.
(1)	0-137	43	115.05	10.58
(2)	138-142	41	112.90	12.95
(3)	143-147	145	114.26	12.43
(4)	148-152	242	111.40	11.91
(5)	153-157	119	106.98	11.48
(6)	158-162	31	94.26	13.24
(7)	163-200	43	90.05	9.50
		664	109.38	13.60

F-ratio is 35.74. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 83

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY AGE, WITH THE IQ STATISTICALLY CONTROLLED -- AVERAGE SCORES ON THE STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, Fall 1965

Age Group in Months		No. of Pupils	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
(1)	0-137	43	50.37	7.24			47.06
(2)	138-142	41	49.39	8.61			47.32
(3)	143-147	146	50.76	8.35			47.98
(4)	148-152	241	50.59	8.17			49.41
(5)	153-157	118	50.67	7.94			52.02
(6)	158-162	31	42.54	8.29			51.83
(7)	163-200	42	40.88	6.80			52.11
					0.86	0.58	
		662	49.56	8.52	0.85		

Adjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 16.23. P is less than 0.01.
Unadjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 13.64. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 84

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY AGE, WITH IQ STATISTICALLY CONTROLLED -- AVERAGE SCORES ON THE STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST, SPRING 1966

Age Group in Months	No. of Pupils	$\bar{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\bar{Y}'$
(1) 0-137	43	50.72	6.91			47.57
(2) 138-142	41	49.59	7.58			47.61
(3) 143-147	144	50.76	8.09			48.10
(4) 148-152	240	50.46	7.91			49.35
(5) 153-157	116	50.95	7.81			52.29
(6) 158-162	31	43.26	9.18			51.91
(7) 163-200	42	40,00	7.41			50.48
				0.83	0.55	
	657	49.56	8.39	0.84		

Adjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 13.48 P is less than 0.01.
Unadjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 15.41. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE 85

1965-66 SAMPLE: ACHIEVEMENT BY AGE, WITH THE IQ STATISTICALLY CONTROLLED -- GRADE-POINT AVERAGES

Age Group in Months		No. of Pupils	$\overline{Y}$	S_y	r_{xy}	b_{xy}	$\overline{Y}'$
(1)	0-137	43	8.81	1.68			8.21
(2)	138-142	41	8.71	1.97			8.33
(3)	143-147	145	8.76	2.12			8.24
(4)	148-152	242	8.87	2.33			8.65
(5)	153-157	119	8.81	2.33			9.06
(6)	158-162	31	7.03	2.56			8.64
(7)	163-200	43	6.30	2.58			8.35
					0.56	0.11	
		664	8.57	2.34	0.60		

Adjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 2.69. P is less than 0.05.
Unadjusted for IQ: F-ratio is 11.04. P is less than 0.01.

APPENDIX B

SOCIOMETRIC TABLES

TABLE 5-1
1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF LOW, MEDIUM, & HIGH MOBILITY CLASSES, FALL 1964

Note: Low-mobility classes; 0-7% military dependents; medium-mobility classes: 15-40%; high-mobility classes: 56-100%. Each mobility level consists of 10 classrooms, a total of 30 for the 1964-65 sample.

Mobility Level	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Low	662	(63.05)	83	(7.90)	211	(20.10)	94	(8.95)	1050	(100.00)
Medium	764	(60.30)	123	(9.71)	243	(19.18)	137	(10.81)	1267	(100.00)
High	574	(47.79)	115	(9.58)	170	(14.15)	342	(28.48)	1201	(100.00)

$X^2_{(6)} = 239.69$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-2
1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF LOW, MEDIUM, & HIGH MOBILITY CLASSES, SPRING, 1965.

Note: See "Note", Table S-1.

Mobility Level	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Low	678	(62.78)	72	(6.67)	236	(21.85)	94	(8.70)	1080	(100.00)
Medium	727	(61.77)	125	(10.62)	206	(17.50)	119	(10.11)	1177	(100.00)
High	616	(48.93)	156	(12.39)	203	(16.12)	284	(22.56)	1259	(100.00)

$X^2_{(6)} = 189.56$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-3

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF LOW, MEDIUM, & HIGH MOBILITY CLASSES, FALL 1965

Note: 10 Low-mobility classes: 0-11% military dependents; 11 medium-mobility classes: 42-64%; 7 high-mobility classes: 74-100%. Total: 28 classroom groups.

Mobility Level	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Low	523	(43.73)	348	(29.10)	191	(15.97)	50	(4.18)	84	(7.02)	1196	(100.00)
Medium	746	(49.08)	332	(21.84)	210	(13.82)	25	(1.64)	207	(13.62)	1520	(100.00)
High	344	(49.43)	100	(14.37)	88	(12.64)	25	(3.59)	139	(19.97)	696	(100.00)

$X^2_{(8)} = 165.77$.   P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-4

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF LOW, MEDIUM, & HIGH MOBILITY CLASSES, SPRING 1966.

Note: See "Note," Table S-3

Mobility Level	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Low	583	(48.67)	346	(28.88)	145	(12.10)	38	(3.17)	86	(7.18)	1198	(100.00)
Medium	717	(51.55)	299	(21.50)	207	(14.88)	23	(1.65)	145	(10.42)	1391	(100.00)
High	292	(47.95)	107	(17.57)	119	(19.54)	14	(2.30)	77	(12.64)	609	(100.00)

$X^2_{(8)} = 63.51$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-5
1964-65 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS IN LOW, MEDIUM, & HIGH MOBILITY CLASSES, FALL 1964

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Varianc
Between groups	6.67	2	3.34
Within groups	80519.13	858	93.85
Total	80525.70	860	

$F_{(2, 858)} = 0.03$ P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-6
1964-65 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS IN LOW, MEDIUM, & HIGH MOBILITY CLASSES, SPRING 1965.

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Varian
Between groups	1.08	2	0.54
Within groups	79753.12	855	93.28
Total	79754.20	857	

$F_{(2, 855)} = 0.01$ P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-7
1965-66 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS IN LOW, MEDIUM, & HIGH MOBILITY CLASSES, FALL 1965

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	2.00	2	1.00
Within groups	62245.10	723	86.09
Total	62247.10	725	

$F_{(2,\ 723)} = 0.01$ P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-8
1965-66 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS IN LOW, MEDIUM, & HIGH MOBILITY CLASSES, SPRING 1966

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	60.24	2	30.12
Within groups	67412.16	723	73.24
Total	67472.40	725	

$F_{(2,\ 723)} = 0.32$ P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-9

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP
CHOICES OF MOBILE & LOCAL PUPILS, FALL 1964

Mobility Status	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Mobile Pupils	613	(48.27)	102	(8.03)	178	(14.02)	377	(29.68)	1270	(100.00)
Local Pupils	1347	(60.19)	219	(9.78)	476	(21.27)	196	(8.76)	2238	(100.00)

$X^2_{(3)} = 263.44$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-10

1964-65 SAMPLE; GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP
CHOICES OF MOBILE & LOCAL PUPILS, SPRING 1965

Mobility Status	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Mobile Pupils	664	(51.23)	132	(10.19)	196	(15.12)	304	(23.46)	1296	(100.00)
Local Pupils	1357	(60.85)	221	(9.91)	459	(20.58)	193	(8.66)	2230	(100.00)

$X^2_{(3)} = 153.86$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-11

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF MOBILE BOYS & MOBILE GIRLS, FALL 1964

Sex of Mobile Child	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Boy	301	(49.43)	43	(7.06	91	(14.94)	174	(28.57)	609	(100.00)
Girl	315	(47.65)	59	(8.73)	84	(12.71)	203	(30.71)	661	(100.00)

$X^{2}_{(3)} = 3.21$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-12

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF LOCAL BOYS & LOCAL GIRLS, FALL 1964

Sex of Local Child	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Boy	724	(59.01)	120	(9.78)	284	(23.14)	99	(8.07)	1227	(100.00)
Girl	625	(61.52)	99	(9.74)	195	(19.19)	97	(9.55)	1016	(100.00)

$X^{2}_{(3)} = 6.041$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-13

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF MOBILE BOYS & MOBILE GIRLS, SPRING 1965

Sex of Mobile Child	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Boy	311	(52.80)	53	(9.00)	89	(15.11)	136	(23.09)	589	(100.00)
Girl	353	(49.93)	79	(11.17)	107	(15.14)	168	(23.76)	707	(100.00)

$X^2_{(3)} = 2.07$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-14

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF LOCAL BOYS & LOCAL GIRLS, SPRING 1965

Sex of Local Child	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Boy	720	(59.80)	109	(9.05)	275	(22.84)	100	(8.31)	1204	(100.00)
Girl	637	(62.09)	112	(10.92)	184	(17.93)	93	(9.06)	1026	(100.00)

$X^2_{(3)} = 9.263$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-15

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF MOBILE & LOCAL PUPILS, FALL 1964

Mobility Status	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Mobile Pupils	718	(51.12)	253	(18.01)	145	(10.32)	33	(2.35)	257	(18.30)	1406	(100.00)
Local Pupils	895	(44.37)	533	(26.43)	349	(17.30)	67	(3.32)	173	(8.58)	2017	(100.00)

$X^2_{(4)} = 129.47$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-16

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF MOBILE & LOCAL PUPILS, SPRING 1966

Mobility Status	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Mobile Pupils	633	(52.36)	210	(17.37)	181	(14.97)	17	(1.41)	168	(13.89)	1209	(100.00)
Local Pupils	959	(48.21)	542	(27.25)	290	(14.58)	58	(2.92)	140	(7.04)	1989	(.00.00)

$X^2_{(4)} = 78.40$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-17

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF MOBILE BOYS & MOBILE GIRLS, FALL 1965

Sex of Mobile Child	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Boy	358	(51.88)	105	(15.22)	78	(11.30)	12	(1.74)	137	(19.86)	690	(100.00)
Girl	360	(50.28)	148	(20.67)	67	(9.36)	21	(2.93)	120	(16.76)	716	(100.00)

$X^2_{(4)} \doteq 11.25.$ P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-18

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF LOCAL BOYS & LOCAL GIRLS, FALL 1965

Sex of Local Child	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Boy	445	(44.70)	258	(25.34)	193	(18.96)	38	(3.73)	74	(7.27)	1018	(100.00)
Girl	440	(44.04)	275	(27.53)	156	(15.62)	29	(2.90)	99	(9.91)	999	(100.00)

$X^2_{(4)} = 8.560.$ P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-19

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF MOBILE BOYS & MOBILE GIRLS, SPRING 1966

Sex of Mobile Child	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Boy	411	(59.74)	99	(14.39)	80	(11.63)	9	(1.31)	89	(12.93)	688	(100.00)
Girl	290	(49.24)	111	(18.84)	101	(17.15)	8	(1.36)	79	(13.41)	589	(100.00)

$X^{2}_{(4)}$ = 17.09. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-20

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES OF LOCAL BOYS & LOCAL GIRLS, SPRING 1966

Sex of Local Child	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Boy	502	(50.91)	246	(24.95)	162	(16.43)	23	(2.33)	53	(5.38)	986	(100.00)
Girl	457	(45.56)	296	(29.51)	128	(12.76)	35	(3.49)	87	(8.68)	1003	(100.00)

$X^{2}_{(4)}$ = 21.303. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-21

1964-65 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF MOBILE & LOCAL PUPILS, FALL 1964

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Varianc
Between groups	59.13	2	29.57
Within groups	80520.60	859	93.74
Total	80579.73	861	

$F_{(2,859)}$ = 0.32. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-22

1964-65 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF MOBILE & LOCAL PUPILS, SPRING 1965

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	385.91	2	192.96
Within groups	79368.29	855	92.83
Total	79754.20	857	

$F_{(2, 855)}$ = 2.08. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-23

1965-66 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF MOBILE & LOCAL PUPILS, FALL 1965

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Varianc
Between groups	52.24	1	52.24
Within groups	57114.66	664	86.02
Total	57166.90	665	

$F_{(1, 664)} = 0.61$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-24

1965-66 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF MOBILE & LOCAL PUPILS, SPRING 1966

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	5.65	1	5.65
Within groups	61306.05	664	92.33
Total	61311.70	665	

$F_{(1, 664)} = 0.60$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-25
1965-66 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS ACCORDING TO THEIR MOBILITY STATUS & SEX, FALL 1965

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	109.51	3	36.50
Within groups	57057.39	662	86.19
Total	57166.90	665	

$F_{(3, 662)} = 0.42$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-26
1965-66 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS ACCORDING TO THEIR MOBILITY STATUS & SEX, SPRING 1966

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	434.61	3	144.87
Within groups	60877.09	662	91.96
Total	61311.70	665	

$F_{(3, 662)} = 1.58$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-27

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF CITIES IN WHICH PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL, FALL 1964

No. of Cities	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	1026	(66.24)	158	(10.20)	251	(16.20)	114	(7.36)	1549	(100.00)
2	295	(55.77)	37	(6.99)	106	(20.04)	91	(17.20)	529	(100.00)
3	252	(48.18)	50	(9.56)	83	(15.87)	138	(26.39)	523	(100.00)
4	212	(50.12)	35	(8.27)	62	(14.66)	114	(26.95)	423	(100.00)
5-7	175	(45.57)	41	(10.68)	52	(13.54)	116	(30.21)	384	(100.00)

$X^2_{(12)} = 271.40.$ P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-28

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF CITIES IN WHICH PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL, SPRING 1965

No. of Cities	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	1014	(62.13)	166	(10.17)	347	(21.26)	105	(6.44)	1632	(100.00)
2	308	(60.99)	31	(6.14)	94	(18.61)	72	(14.26)	505	(100.00)
3	243	(50.95)	49	(10.27)	75	(15.72)	110	(23.06)	477	(100.00)
4	233	(52.36)	44	(9.89)	67	(15.05)	101	(22.70)	445	(100.00)
5-7	204	(47.33)	60	(13.92)	68	(15.78)	99	(22.97)	431	(100.00)

$X^2_{(12)} = 192.70$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-29

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF CITIES IN WHICH PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL, FALL 1965

No. of Cities	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	530	(46.49)	317	(27.81)	194	(17.02)	32	(2.80)	67	(5.88)	1140	(100.00)
2	386	(45.30)	208	(24.41)	138	(16.20)	32	(3.76)	88	(10.33)	852	(100.00)
3	316	(47.45)	137	(20.57)	92	(13.81)	16	(2.40)	105	(15.77)	666	(100.00)
4	216	(52.05)	72	(17.35)	34	(8.19)	12	(2.89)	81	(19.52)	415	(100.00)
5-7	165	(47.14)	52	(14.86)	36	(10.29)	8	(2.28)	89	(25.43)	350	(100.00)

$X^2_{(16)} = 169.97$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-30

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF CITIES IN WHICH PUPILS ATTENDED SCHOOL, SPRING 1966

No. of Cities	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	546	(49.01)	296	(26.57)	175	(15.71)	33	(2.96)	64	(5.75)	1114	(100.00)
2	383	(47.17)	209	(25.74)	126	(15.52)	30	(3.69)	64	(7.88)	812	(100.00)
3	306	(51.69)	133	(22.47)	78	(13.17)	7	(1.18)	68	(11.49)	592	(100.00)
4	191	(53.65)	53	(14.89)	44	(12.36)	10	(2.81)	58	(16.29)	356	(100.00)
5-7	162	(50.62)	55	(17.19)	46	(14.36)	4	(1.25)	53	(16.56)	320	(100.00)

$X^2_{(16)} = 95.17$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-31
1964-65 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OS PUPILS ATTENDING SCHOOL IN 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5-7 CITIES, FALL 1964

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Varia
Between groups	811.45	5	162.29
Within groups	79724.85	854	93.35
Total	80536.30	859	

$F_{(5, 854)} = 1.74$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-32
1964-65 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS ATTENDING SCHOOL IN 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5-7 CITIES, SPRING 1965

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	641.99	5	128.40
Within groups	78025.81	851	92.78
Total	78667.80	856	

$F_{(5, 851)} = 1.38$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-33
1965-66 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS ATTENDING SCHOOL IN 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5-7 CITIES, FALL 1965

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	190.46	5	38.09
Within groups	57076.55	662	86.22
Total	57267.01	667	

$F_{(5, 662)} = 0.44$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-34
1965-66 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS ATTENDING SCHOOL IN 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5-7 CITIES, SPRING 1966

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	603.22	5	120.64
Within groups	61101.28	662	9.23
Total	61704.50	667	

$F_{(5, 662)} = 1.31$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-35

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES BY NUMBER OF SCHOOLS PUPILS ATTENDED, FALL 1964

No. of Schools	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	268	(70.16)	8	(2.09)	75	(19.63)	31	(8.12)	382	(100.00)
2	563	(61.00)	92	(9.97)	186	(20.15)	82	(8.88)	923	(100.00)
3	442	(53.38)	95	(11.47)	165	(19.33)	126	(15.22)	828	(100.00)
4	331	(51.56)	50	(7.79)	136	(21.18)	125	(19.47)	642	(100.00)
5-7	349	(48.07)	76	(10.47)	92	(12.67)	209	(28.79)	726	(100.00)

$X^2_{(12)} = 182.66.$ P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-36

1964-65 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES BY NUMBER OF SCHOOLS PUPILS ATTENDED, SPRING 1965

No. of Schools	Classroom		School		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	F	%	f	%	f	%
1	253	(69.31)	14	(3.84)	75	(20.55)	23	(6.30)	365	(100.00)
2	574	(61.06)	102	(10.85)	197	(20.96)	67	(7.13)	940	(100.00)
3	462	(58.48)	89	(11.27)	141	(17.85)	98	(12.40)	790	(100.00)
4	341	(51.82)	56	(8.51)	134	(20.37)	127	(19.30)	658	(100.00)
5-7	372	(50.61)	89	(12.11)	104	(14.15)	170	(23.13)	753	(100.00)

$X^2_{(12)} = 175.55$. P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-37

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES BY NUMBER OF SCHOOLS PUPILS ATTENDED, FALL 1965

No. of Schools	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	83	(54.60)	40	(26.32)	20	(13.16)	3	(1.97)	6	(3.95)	152	(100.00)
2	270	(47.20)	149	(26.05)	98	(17.13)	21	(3.67)	34	(5.95)	572	(100.00)
3	382	(42.68)	255	(28.49)	143	(15.98)	23	(2.57)	92	(10.28)	895	(100.00)
4	389	(47.55)	165	(20.17)	120	(14.67)	25	(3.06)	119	(14.55)	818	(100.00)
5-7	486	(49.74)	177	(18.12)	107	(10.95)	28	(2.87)	179	(18.32)	977	(100.00)

$X^{2}_{(16)} = 125.52.$ P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-38

1965-66 SAMPLE: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES BY NUMBER OF SCHOOLS PUPILS ATTENDED, SPRING 1966

No. of Schools	Classroom		School		Neighborhood		Community		World		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	90	(61.64)	33	(22.60)	16	(10.96)	5	(3.43)	2	(1.37)	146	(100.00)
2	260	(46.51)	159	(28.45)	89	(15.92)	17	(3.04)	34	(6.08)	559	(100.00)
3	436	(48.99)	240	(26.97)	135	(15.17)	13	(1.46)	66	(7.41)	890	(100.00)
4	347	(48.87)	159	(22.40)	99	(13.94)	22	(3.10)	83	(11.69)	710	(100.00)
5-7	462	(52.62)	153	(17.42)	126	(14.35)	17	(1.94)	120	(13.67)	878	(100.00)

$X^2_{(16)} = 71.58.$ P is less than 0.01.

TABLE S-39
1964-65 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS WHO ATTENDED 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5-7 SCHOOLS, FALL 1964

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	208.50	5	41.70
Within groups	80314.20	854	94.04
Total	80522.70	859	

$F_{(5, 854)} = 0.44$. P is over 0.01.

TABLE S-40
1964-65 SAMPLE: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOCIOMETRIC SCORES OF PUPILS WHO ATTENDED 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5-7 SCHOOLS, SPRING 1965

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d. f.	Mean Square Variance
Between groups	684.66	5	136.93
Within groups	74366.04	816	91.13
Total	75050.70	821	

$F_{(5, 816)} = 1.50$. P is over 0.01.

APPENDIX C

SELF-CONCEPT TABLES

APPENDIX C
SELF-CONCEPT TABLES

TABLE C-1
1964-65 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES OF MOBILE PUPILS IN THREE CLASSROOM-GROUPS

Note: (a) Three classroom groups are compared: those with 0-7% military dependents, i.e., composed mostly of local pupils; those with 15-40% military dependents, i.e., mixed military dependents-local; and those with 56-100% military dependents, i.e., where local pupils are a minority. For the sake of brevity, we refer to these classroom groups, respectively, as "low-mobility", "medium-mobility", and "high-mobility" classes.

(b) In this Table, entries are frequencies (number of statements, not pupils) and proportions regarding each WAI category.

WAI CATEGORY	Low Mobility Classes	Medium Mobility Classes	High Mobility Classes	Total
Self-Commendation	38 30.1%	180 30.7%	610 28.1%	828 28.7%
Self-Derogation	5 4.0%	55 9.4%	138 6.4%	198 6.9%
Neutral Statements	83 65.9%	351 59.9%	1421 65.5%	1855 64.4%
Total	126	586	2169	2881

$X^2_{(4)} = 11.234$. P is under 0.05.

TABLE C-2
1964-65 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES OF LOCAL PUPILS IN THREE CLASSROOM-GROUPS

Note: See "note", Table C-1.

WAI Category	Low Mobility Classes	Medium Mobility Classes	High Mobility Classes	Total
Self-Commendations	684 25.6%	520 24.0%	130 23.2%	1334 24.7%
Self-Derogation	177 6.6%	123 5.7%	43 7.7%	343 6.4%
Neutral Statements	1810 67.8%	1525 70.3%	388 69.1%	3723 68.9%
Total	2671	2168	561	5400

$X^2_{(4)} = 6.440$. P is over 0.05.

TABLE C-3
1964-65 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES IN LOW-MOBILITY CLASSES ACCORDING TO MOBILITY STATUS & SEX OF PUPILS

Note: (a) See "note", Table C-1.

(b) "Mobility status" indicates whether a child is a P.L. 874 military dependent (called "mobile") or a non-P.L. 874 local pupil. P.L. 874 "other federally-connected pupils" have been combined with local ones.

	Mobile Pupils			Local Pupils		
WAI Category	Boys	Girls	Sub-Total	Boys	Girls	Sub-Total
Self-Commendation	14 26.4%	24 32.9%	38 30.1%	320 23.7%	364 27.6%	684 25.6%
Self-Derogation	2 3.8%	3 4.1%	5 4.0%	109 8.0%	68 5.2%	177 6.6%
Neutral Statements	37 69.8%	46 63.0%	83 65.9%	924 68.3%	886 67.2%	1810 67.8%
Total	53	73	126	1353	1318	2671

$X^2_{(2)} = 2.338$. P is over 0.05.

TABLE C-4
1964-65 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN LOW-MOBILITY CLASSES

Note: With regard to each WAI category, entries are instances (not number of pupils) and proportions thereof.

WAI Category	Boys	Girls
Self-Commendation	334 23.8%	388 27.9%
Self-Derogation	111 7.9%	71 5.1%
Neutral Statements	961 68.3%	932 67.0%
Total	1406	1391

$X^2_{(2)} = 13.194$. P is under 0.05.

TABLE C-5
1964-65 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES IN MEDIUM-MOBILITY CLASSES ACCORDING TO MOBILITY STATUS & SEX

	Mobile Pupils			Local Pupils		
WAI Category	Boys	Girls	Sub Total	Boys	Girls	Sub Total
Self-Commendation	100 31.4%	80 29.8%	180 30.7%	284 23.7%	236 24.3%	520 24.0%
Self-Derogation	31 9.8%	24 9.0%	55 9.4%	70 5.8%	53 5.5%	123 5.7%
Neutral Statements	187 58.8%	164 61.2%	351 59.9%	844 70.5%	681 70.2%	1525 70.3%
Total	318	268	586	1198	970	2168

Note: For X^2, d.f., and P for each comparison based on data of this Table, see Table C-8.

TABLE C-6
1964-65 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES IN HIGH-MOBILITY CLASSES ACCORDING TO MOBILITY STATUS & SEX

	Mobile Pupils			Local Pupils		
WAI Category	Boys	Girls	Sub Total	Boys	Girls	Sub Total
Self-Commendation	256 26.0%	354 29.9%	610 28.1%	72 22.1%	58 24.7%	130 23.2%
Self-Derogation	72 7.3%	66 5.6%	138 6.4%	23 7.0%	20 8.5%	43 7.7%
Neutral Statements	657 66.7%	764 64.5%	1421 65.5%	231 70.9%	157 66.8%	388 69.1%
Total	985	1184	2169	326	235	561

Note: For X^2, d.f., & P for each comparison based on this Table, see Table C-8.

TABLE C-7

1964-65 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES OF BOYS & GIRLS IN HIGH-MOBILITY CLASSES

WAI Category	Boys	Girls
Self-Commendation	328 25.0%	412 29.0%
Self-Derogation	95 7.3%	86 6.1%
Neutral Statements	888 67.7%	921 64.9%
Total	1311	1419

$X^2_{(2)} = 6.321$. P is under 0.05.

TABLE C-8

1964-65 SAMPLE: SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL RESULTS

Type of Comparison	Low Mobility Classes			Medium Mobility Classes			High Mobility Classes		
	X^2	d.f.	P	X^2	d.f.	P	X^2	d.f.	P
1. Mobile vs. Local									
Total	2.338	2	$>.05$	25.438	2	$<.05$	6.069	2	$<.05$
Boys	---	---	--	16.704	2	$<.05$	2.139	2	$>.05$
Girls	---	---	--	9.118	2	$<.05$	4.787	2	$>.05$
2. Boys vs. Girls									
Total	13.194	2	$<.05$	0.223	2	$>.05$	6.321	2	$<.05$
Mobile	0.629	1	$>.05$	---	---	--	5.854	2	$>.05$
Local	12.668	2	$<.05$	---	---	--	1.098	2	$>.05$

TABLE C-9
1965-66 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES OF MOBILE PUPILS

Note: Whereas the 1964-65 sample consisted of 30 classrooms, the 1965-66 one was made up of 28. These are divisible into three groups: 10 "low-mobility" classrooms -- zero-11% military dependents; 11 "medium-mobility" ones -- 42-64%; and 7 "high-mobility" ones -- 74-100%.

WAI Category	Low Mobility Classes	Medium Mobility Classes	High Mobility Classes	Total
Self-Commendation	22 22.0%	381 21.9%	324 24.1%	727 22.8%
Self-Derogation	10 10.0%	114 6.5%	130 9.7%	254 8.0%
Neutral Statements	68 68.0%	1248 71.6%	891 66.2%	2207 69.2%
Total	100	1743	1345	3188

$X^2_{(4)} = 14.691$. P is under 0.05.

TABLE C-10
1965-66 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES OF LOCAL PUPILS

Note: See "note", Table C-9.

WAI Category	Low Mobility Classes	Medium Mobility Classes	High Mobility Classes	Total
Self-Commendation	510 21.2%	348 22.3%	56 17.4%	914 21.3%
Self-Derogation	193 8.1%	86 5.5%	23 7.2%	302 7.1%
Neutral Statements	1697 70.7%	1126 72.2%	242 75.4%	3065 71.6%
Total	2400	1560	321	4281

$X^2_{(4)} = 13.991$. P is under 0.05.

TABLE C-11
1965-66 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES IN LOW-MOBILITY CLASSES BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX

	Mobile Pupils			Local Pupils		
WAI Category	Boys	Girls	Sub Total	Boys	Girls	Sub Total
Self-Commendation	10 27.0%	12 19.1%	22 22.0%	246 20.1%	264 22.5%	510 21.3%
Self-Derogation	3 8.1%	7 11.1%	10 10.0%	107 8.7%	86 7.3%	193 8.0%
Neutral Statements	24 64.9%	44 69.8%	68 68.0%	872 71.2%	825 70.2%	1697 70.7%
Total	37	63	100	1225	1175	2400

Note: For X^2, d.f., & P for each comparison, see Table C-14.

TABLE C-12
1965-66 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES IN MEDIUM-MOBILITY CLASSES BY MOBILITY STATUS & SEX

	Mobile Pupils			Local Pupils		
WAI Category	Boys	Girls	Sub Total	Boys	Girls	Sub Total
Self-Commendation	191 21.3%	190 22.4%	381 21.9%	164 22.0%	184 22.6%	348 22.3%
Self-Derogation	64 7.2%	50 5.9%	114 6.5%	51 6.8%	35 4.3%	86 5.5%
Neutral Statements	640 71.5%	608 71.7%	1248 71.6%	532 71.2%	594 73.1%	1126 72.2%
Total	895	848	1743	747	813	1560

Note: For X^2, d.f., & P for each comparison, see Table C-14.

TABLE C-13
1965-66 SAMPLE: WAI RESPONSES IN HIGH-MOBILITY CLASSES BY MOBILITY & SEX

	Mobile Pupils			Local Pupils		
WAI Category	Boys	Girls	Sub Total	Boys	Girls	Sub Total
Self-Commendation	153 24.7%	171 23.6%	324 24.1%	32 16.8%	24 18.5%	56 17.4%
Self-Derogation	66 10.7%	64 8.8%	130 9.7%	13 6.8%	10 7.7%	23 7.2%
Neutral Statements	400 64.6%	491 67.7%	891 66.2%	146 76.4%	96 73.8%	242 75.4%
Total	619	726	1345	191	130	321

Note: For X^2, d.f., & P for each comparison, see Table C-14.

TABLE C-14

1965-66 SAMPLE: SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL RESULTS

	Low-Mobility Classes			Medium-Mobility Classes			High-Mobility Classes		
Type of Camparison	X^2	d.f.	P	X^2	d.f.	P	X^2	d.f.	P
1. Mobile vs. Local									
Total	0.579	2	>.05	1.549	2	>.05	9.968	2	<.05
Boys	---	---	--	---	---	--	9.301	2	<.05
Girls	---	---	--	---	---	--	2.035	2	>.05
2. Boys vs. Girls									
Total	2.359	2	>.05	5.268	2	>.05	0.640	2	>.05
Mobile	---	---	--	---	---	--	---	---	--
Local	---	---	--	---	---	--	---	---	--

APPENDIX D

PUPIL INTERVIEW GUIDE

APPENDIX D

PUPIL INTERVIEW GUIDE

OPENING REMARKS

My name is (First & Last). I'm part of a team from Harvard University. Perhaps you have seen some of us in your classroom. We are interested in how kids learn in the sixth-grade and what they think of school.

We would like to see things from your point of view, not what grown-ups think school is like. It is only by talking with you that we can see what things are really like -- you are the one who knows. We will be talking with about 100 other sixth-graders from this and other schools throughout New England.

Whatever you or any of the other kids say in these conversations is strictly confidential. No one will be told anything about our conversation; neither your teachers nor anybody else. This is a private conversation. We are interested in what all the kids we talk with say about school, in what the whole thing adds up to, in the total picture all the kids give us.

This is not a test; the questions we'll talk about have no right or wrong answers. I hope you don't mind if I take notes. We will talk for about 30-40 minutes. I am going to record this conversation; I'll play back the first thing we put on tape to see if the machine works.

(over)

NOTE

1. First thing on the tape: Date; interviewer's name; kid's name; time interview started.

2. Last thing on the tape: Time interview ended; comments about rapport with the kid; how the interview went (reactions of interviewer & kid); rephrasing of certain questions for clarification; something interesting the kid may have said about school or newcomership. (Note: If you do not have time to dictate such comments, jot them down on paper and give it with the tape to the project's secretary.)

3. Categories of Questions
    - I. SCHOOLS ATTENDED (SCHOOLING CAREER)
    - II. AFTER-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES
    - III. FORMAL & INFORMAL RULES AT THE SCHOOL
    - IV. PEER RELATIONSHIPS:
        - A. NEWCOMERSHIP
        - B. FRIENDSHIP FORMATION
        - C. INDICES OF ADJUSTMENT (INCORPORATION)
        - D. "CLAIMING" OR SPONSORSHIP OF NEWCOMER BY TEACHER OR PUPILS
    - V. TEACHER-PUPIL RELATIONSHIPS
    - VI. GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

(over)

QUESTIONS

I. SCHOOLS ATTENDED

1. How do you like school this year?
   What do you like about it?
   Is school this year different from last year? In what way?

2. (FOR MOBILE CHILDREN) Of all the schools you have been in, which did you like best? least? Why?

3. Would you describe your school day?
   (subjects preferred, activities participated in, etc.)

II. AFTER-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

4. What do you do after school?
   (hobbies, Boy Scouts, etc.)

III. FORMAL & INFORMAL RULES

5. What are the rules in the classroom? lunchroom? playground, etc.? (pencil-sharpening, note-passing, etc.)
   How does a sixth-grader keep from getting into trouble (how does he get along)?
   What kind of things would get him into trouble with the teacher or the class?

6. If a new pupil asks you what he should do to get along in the class, what would you tell him?
   What do you do in Mrs. X's class that you don't have to do in another teacher's class? (standing to read, laughing at a mistake, etc.)
   How do you find these things out? (the rules; how to get along.)

IV. PEER RELATIONSHIPS: FRIENDSHIP FORMATION, NEWCOMERSHIP, & "CLAIMING"

7. Who are your best friends? in the classroom?
   Where are they?

8. How do you think a new child feels when he comes into your class for the first time?
   Does the teacher (or other kids) help him? In what way?
   Who makes friends with someone new first?
   How does a new child make friends? (skills to fit into the class or playground group, new boys vs. new girls -- INDICES OF ADJUSTMENT.)
   When a new person walks into the class, how do you decide whether you are going to make friends with him (her) or not?
   What do you notice first about the new person?
   Is there a difference in the way boys or girls make friends?

9. Do you know anyone who has had to move this year?
How do you think he (she) felt about leaving?
How do you think the class felt about his (her) leaving? the teacher?
Did you ever notice any changes in behavior in the class because someone was leaving?
(FOR LEAVING PUPIL: In the last few days, have you noticed any changes of behavior on the part of your class or your teacher because you are leaving?)
What is usually done on a pupil's last day?
Are some people missed more than others?

10. Who are the kids in your class that others usually listen to -- or like -- and go along with (the leaders)? How did they get to be leaders?

V. TEACHER-PUPIL RELATIONSHIPS

11. What is your teacher like? (teacher's likes & dislikes; behavior approved of or disapproved of.)
Which does your teacher like better, boys or girls? Which do you like better? (kid the interviewee)

12. Of all the teachers you have had, who was your favorite? Why?

VI. GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

13. Do you think moving around a lot has anything to do with a kid's ability to do well in school (academically)? and socially?

14. Are kids who move around a lot treated differently -- by teacher or classmates -- from kids who don't move around? (differences between mobile & local kids.)

15. Are there any advantages or disadvantages of moving around a lot?
Are there any advantages or disadvantages in staying in one place?

16. What would you like to do when you grow up?

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Many thanks for your help.

(a) Is there anything you would like to add?
(b) Which questions did you like? didn't like?
(c) Maybe you yourself would like to ask me some questions?